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A

HISTORY

OF

THE ROMANS

UNDER THE EMPIRE.

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BY

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ERRATA IN VOL. V.

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The Romans ready

It may be recorded in praise of Augustus, among few other sovereigns who have long survived the date of their early popularity, that no burst of

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general satisfaction hailed the announcement of his decease. The old man had no doubt become stale and wearisome to his frivolous countrymen; a damp had been cast upon their spirits by the dull shade of a monotonous rule, which had long ceased to be relieved by any gleams of adventitious splendour. The prosperity of the latter years of his reign had been clouded by alarming disasters; yet these had not depressed the feelings of the nation so much as the leaden weight of an administration which seemed concerned only to avert every motive of popular excitement. The generation which had admired Augustus as the genius of beneficent government had descended into the tomb: it had been succeeded by one which regarded him only as a despot, or, more unfavourably still, as a pedant. Whatever discontent, however, might lie smothered beneath the external forms of loyal submission, the approaching end of his long domination was not anticipated in any quarter as the advent of a new national era.[1] Augustus himself justly presumed that no party contemplated on his demise the restoration of the republic; he was content to warn his successor against the personal ambition of the most eminent of his nobles, those who might be expected to covet the sovereignty, and those who without coveting might be deemed fit to wield it.[2] But the great mass of the citizens acquiesced at this crisis in

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 4.: Postquam provecta jam senèctus ægro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novæ: pauci bona libertatis incassum disserere: plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere: pars multo maxima imminentes dominos variis rumoribus disserere.

[2] Tac. Ann. i. 13.

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the conviction that the same man who had shared his later counsels would be the appointed heir to his relinquished powers. They contemplated without a murmur the succession of Tiberius to the complete cycle of the imperial functions, from no personal regard or admiration, nor from any deliberate belief that he was the fittest of the citizens to assume preeminence over them, but from an almost unconscious acknowledgment of his divine or legitimate right as the adopted son of the hero Augustus, himself the adopted son of the divine Julius. Such is the proneness of the human mind to discover a right for an once established and uncontested might; so smooth is the path of usurpation, when it has once succeeded in scaling the frowning barriers of the law. It was not in vain that Augustus had cherished among his subjects the remnant of religious feeling; he was rewarded by becoming himself the centre of their idolatry, and imparting a ray of his own adorable godhead to the heir of his name and titles.

Self-distrust of Tiberius.

But with the fortunes of Augustus, Tiberius did not inherit that generous reliance on his personal merits which nerved the arm of his great predecessor, and imbued him with so lofty a sense of his political mission. Though a man undoubtedly of no mean ability, both military and administrative, he seems to have been wanting in the higher quality of genius which seizes or makes its opportunities, and floats proudly on the crest of the swelling waves of a national inspiration. Of this he was himself painfully sensible; and it was the consciousness that he could neither kindle the imagination of

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the soldiers like Julius, nor of the citizens like Augustus, that made him feel less secure of their obedience than he really was. He had suffered, indeed, though mainly through his own perverseness, a fall from power, which rendered him keenly alive to the precariousness of his elevation, and to the dangers which attend upon infirmities of temper in the great. The secret of his predecessor's success had lain, as he was perhaps aware, in the perfect equilibrium of his abilities and his temper, in the combination of genius with self-command; his own conscious deficiency in this important particular chilled him as an omen of ultimate failure, as it had already been the cause of his temporary disgrace. Tiberius reigned in the constant apprehension of the crash which he expected to overwhelm him; a sword, like that of Damocles, seemed ever suspended over him; and he scanned with angry perturbation the countenances of all who entered his presence, to discover whether they too saw the fatal spectre which was never absent from his own imagination.[1]

Death of Augustus announced.

At the critical moment he might himself have hesitated, and looked timidly around him; but he was fortunate, if one may say so, in having in his own mother Livia an ally endued with all the unity of object and promptness in action which so strongly characterize her sex. Augustus, it seems probable, had not yet breathed his last, and his step-son, hastily recalled from the Dalmatian coast,

[1] One random stroke from Pliny on this subject rivals in effect the elaborate paintings of Tacitus: Tiberius tristissimus, ut constat, hominum. *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 5.

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was not yet arrived to attend upon his death-bed, when the empress boldly ventured to take the necessary measures to prevent the tidings of his decease from being too soon made public. When, however, Tiberius was himself on the spot, there was no further occasion for disguise, and the demise of the late imperator was proclaimed at the same moment with the substitution of a successor in his place.[1] The fidelity of the few troops about the capital, already bound perhaps by the military sacrament to the coadjutor of their actual chief, was sufficiently assured; obedience to the orders of Tiberius had become habitual to them. Nor was there any real cause for apprehension lest a rival should start up from amongst the nobility of the capital. Of the possible competitors already designated by Augustus, Lepidus, he had said, was equal to empire, but would disdain to aspire to it; Asinius Gallus might be ambitious of it, but was unequal to the post; and one only, the rich and high-born Arruntius, had the spirit both to desire it, and, if occasion should serve, to contend for it.[2] But Arruntius was a man of no official distinction or

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 5.: Provisis quæ tempus monebat, simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem, fama eadem tulit.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* i. 13.: M. Lepidum dixerat capacem, sed aspernantem; Gallum Asinium avidum, et minorem; L. Arruntium non indignum, et si casus daretur ausurum. M. Æmilius Lepidus was brother of the Paulus Æmilius, husband of the younger Julia, who conspired against Augustus. See chap. xxxviii. p. 336. He continued in the enjoyment of favour and dignity till his death, A.U. 786. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 27.; see below. C. Asinius Gallus was son of Asinius Pollio, and married to Vipsania, the divorced wife of Tiberius. For his death, 783, see below. L. Arruntius was son of a lieutenant of Augustus in the battle of Actium (consul A.U. 732). His suicide, A.U. 790, will be mentioned in its place.

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military reputation; no circumstances had combined to smooth his way to such an elevation, and the only immediate risk of competition lay in the members of the Cæsarean family itself. Of these, Germanicus was at the moment absent; Drusus, the youthful child of Tiberius, had yet acquired no independent character or position; but the wretched Agrippa still lingered in his island-prison, and the current rumour that Augustus had recently visited him there in secret, and held out to him, not without marked signs of affection, some hopes of release and favour, had excited the jealous fears both of Livia and her son. As soon as Augustus ceased to breathe, and even before his decease was openly proclaimed, an order was expedited to the centurion in guard over the captive to put him to death. Such was the belief of the times; but whether the order was issued by Livia, without her son's privity, or whether it was the first act of the new Cæsar's authority, the propagators of the rumour were not agreed among themselves. A hint seems indeed to have been thrown out that Augustus had instructed the keepers to assassinate their prisoner as soon as his own death should be known, to anticipate the risk of disturbance in the succession; and Tiberius publicly declared that the deed was not executed at his command: nevertheless he took no steps to explain the fatal mystery, and the perpetrators of a crime thus officially acknowledged were allowed to remain unquestioned.[1]

Rumoured assassination of Agrippa Postumus.

[1] Tacitus ascribes the act without hesitation to Tiberius: Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippæ cædes . . . . and Dion

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Together with the announcement of the emperor's demise Tiberius issued a summons to the senate by virtue of his tribunitian power.[1] The consuls Appuleius and Pompeius came forward, as the first magistrates of the republic, to swear obedience to him as their imperator, and the formula of their oath was repeated in due order by all the officers of the state, and echoed by the soldiers and the citizens.[2] The ceremony passed smoothly over without demur or hesitation. Tiberius alone, perhaps, was astonished at the passive acquiescence with which his fellow-citizens accepted from the lips of their magistrates the obligation to maintain the imperial system in his person. The terms in which he had convoked the Fathers had been studiously moderate and cautious. He had been

follows him. Suetonius speaks more dubiously: Quos codicillos dubium fuit Augustusne moriens reliquisset quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret, an nomine Augusti Livia, et ea conscio Tiberio an ignaro dictâsset. Velleius seems to insinuate that Agrippa died before Augustus. In the will of the emperor, made sixteen months before his own decease, he made no mention of this grandson; but nothing can be built on this omission. Tacitus and Suetonius both agree that the centurion reported to Tiberius, Factum esse quod imperâsset, and that Tiberius replied with anger, Neque imperasse se, et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum; but took no further notice of the affair. See Tac. *Ann.* i. 6.; Suet. *Tib.* 22.; Dion, lvii. 3.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 23.: Jure tribunitiæ potestatis coacto senatu.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* i. 7.: Primi Coss. in verba Tiberii Cæsaris juravere. This use of the formula is not strictly accurate. The legatus Imperatoris first uttered the oath of obedience—præstitit sacramentum—to his general; then the centurions, and finally, the soldiers—jurabant in verba legati—took his oath upon themselves. In the usage of Tacitus, however, it means to swear devotion and loyalty to the emperor, as in Suet. *Jul.* 84.: Jusjurandum quo cuncti se pro salute ejus astrinxerant. (Comp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 145.) And the military sacrament had become already a simple oath of allegiance, which the consuls proposed, and the rest of the citizens repeated after them.

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careful to avoid committing himself to any personal views: all he had requested was that they should consult about the honours to be paid to the deceased; while for himself he proposed to continue in the meantime in attendance upon the venerated remains, the only public function which he claimed the right to discharge. Yet he had not scrupled to assume the ordinary ensigns of power at the death-bed of the emperor; he had disposed the sentinels and given the watchword without any pretended reserve; even in presenting himself in the Forum and the Senate House he had surrounded himself with a military escort; still more, he had dispatched his own orders to the legions in the provinces; in short, he had shown no signs of hesitation in anything but his address to the senators themselves.[1] As the associate indeed in the imperium he was perfectly competent to take these military measures; but the motive which impelled him to act so promptly and decisively was the fear he entertained of Germanicus, the commander of several legions and the personal favourite of the people, who, it might be apprehended, would rather choose to seize upon the supreme power at once than wait for its descent to him hereafter.[2] Tiberius had a further reason for courting the suffrages

[1] Tac. *Ann.* l. c.: Defuncto Augusto signum prætoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiæ, arma, cætera aulæ; miles in Forum miles in Curiam comitabatur; literas ad exercitus, tanquam adepto principatu, misit; nusquam cunctabundus nisi quum in Senatu loqueretur. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 24.; Dion, lvii. 2.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Causa præcipua ex formidine ne Germanicus, in cujus manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare mallet.

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of the senate, rather than commanding them: he was anxious to appear to owe his election to the voice of the nation rather than slip into the succession of Augustus as the adopted heir of a woman-ruled dotard. It suited his temper, moreover,—and in estimating the acts of the moody Tiberius we must regard his temper even more than his policy,—to ascertain by these means the real disposition of the courtiers, whose voices he could have easily secured.

Private testament of Augustus.

Already, sixteen months before his death, Augustus had signed and sealed his last will and testament, and placed it beyond his own reach in the sacred custody of the Vestals.[1] By this instrument he had made a careful disposition of his property, after the manner of a private citizen. The bulk of it he had bequeathed, after expressing his regret at the loss of Caius and Lucius, to Tiberius and Livia in unequal proportions, the former receiving two thirds, the latter one third only; but even this share was beyond what the law allowed to a widow, and required a special exemption from the senate.[2] It was provided at the same time that Livia should be adopted into the Julian family, and distinguished with the title of Augusta. In default of the survival of these his first-named heirs, he called his grandsons and their children to the inheritance, one third of which was to descend to

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 101.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 8.; Dion, lvi. 32, 33.

[2] The lex Voconia had allowed a widow to inherit only a fourth, and this had been reduced to a fifth by the lex Papia Poppæa. It may be said, however, that Livia had been released from the severity of this law by receiving the Jus trium liberorum. Dion, lv. 2. See Reimar's note on Dion, lvi. 32.

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Drusus, the son of Tiberius, the remainder to be apportioned among Germanicus and his three male children. The unfortunate Julias were specially excepted from all benefit in this arrangement, and a clause was added by which their remains were forbidden to rest in the Cæsarean mausoleum. Of Agrippa Postumus no mention seems to have been made at all. Failing all natural or adoptive successors, the emperor had taken the precaution of inserting the names of some of the chief nobility, even such as he was well known to have regarded during his lifetime with distrust and dislike, with the view of conciliating their favour towards his descendants, or as an empty display of generosity. But the property which, after fifty years of power, the emperor had on his death-bed to bestow, did not exceed what might be expected from a noble citizen of the first rank; and it was burdened by considerable donations to the public treasury, to the citizens individually, to the legionaries and to the prætorian guards, and also to a few private friends.[1] As regarded public affairs, the last counsels he gave to his children and the commonwealth were exhortations to prudence and moderation. He requested that no ostentation of generosity or magnificence should induce them to emancipate many slaves at his funeral; that they should abstain from admitting the subjects of the empire indiscriminately to the honour and privileges of the ruling race; that they should summon all men capable of affairs to a

Last public counsels.

[1] Tac. l. c.: Populo et plebi ccccxxxv., prætoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum millia, legionariis ccc., cohortibus civium Rom. cccc. nummos viritim dedit.

share in their administration, and not accumulate all public functions in a single hand; lastly, that they should rest satisfied with the actual extension of the frontiers, nor risk, by the lust of further conquests, the loss of the provinces they possessed: for so he had paused himself in the career of his own successes, and preferred to present gain or personal ambition the permanent interests of the republic.[1] A.D. 14. A.U. 767.

Funeral honours decreed him.

Tiberius was anxious that the citizens should notice the modest deference of their deceased ruler to their presumed supremacy, and fancy that the empire, with all its various powers and prerogatives, was still their own to give or to withhold. The senators and people vied with one another in the honours they heaped upon the memory of so loyal a sovereign. The body, it was decreed, should be borne into the Field of Mars through the Gate of Triumph, but Tiberius himself interfered to moderate the officious zeal of individual courtiers. The populace signified their determination to consume the remains in the Forum, and an armed guard was required to prevent this irregularity, to avert the riots which might have ensued, and spare the superstitious feelings which would be hurt by it. But the vapid admiration of the sated sight-seers of Rome was finally contented

[1] Dion, lvi. 33. These latter counsels seem to have been appended to the register of the empire (its forces, revenues, &c.), which Augustus bequeathed to the state. Tac. *Ann.* i. 11.: Proferri libellum recitarique jussit: opes publicæ continebantur, &c. . . . . addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii. See chap. xxxix. vol. iv. p. 431. It was still a question, however, whether this last advice was the result of apprehension for the public weal, or of envy towards his successor.

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with the decorous solemnities of a national apotheosis. The senate, the same body, at least in name, which had struck down another Cæsar sixty years before, which had conceded honours to his corpse under bitter compulsion, and driven his adorers from his shrine with blows and menaces, now combined with all classes of the citizens in a common act of extravagant adulation. The procession of the Roman knights who attended on the bier held its stately march from the suburban station of Bovillæ to the centre of the city; orations in praise of the deceased were pronounced by Tiberius and his son Drusus from the steps of the Julian temple and from the rostra; from the Forum the honoured remains were borne upon the shoulders of the senators to the place of cremation in the Campus Martius. Temples, priests, and holy observances were decreed to the divine Augustus, as before to the divine Julius, for a prætorian senator was found to affirm that he had seen his soul ascend from his ashes into the celestial abodes. This testimony, such as it was, followed an ancient and auspicious precedent, and was rewarded with a splendid present from Livia.[1] On the death of Cæsar no such vision had been required: Rome and the world believed without a witness, that a spirit more than human had exchanged life for immortality.

Tiberius in the senate.

Meanwhile a scene was being enacted in the Senate House of much more importance to the interests of the citizens than that which concerned

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 100.; Dion, lvi. 46.—Comp. the legend of Romulus.

the remains of fallen greatness which had just been consigned to the tomb. Tiberius had learnt from the policy of his sire that, however bold and decided his movements might be in the camp and in the provinces, he must seek to govern the nobles in the city by craft and management. Following implicitly the example which had been set him on more than one solemn occasion, he now met the professions of submission to his authority, which the senators eagerly tendered, with the pretence of shrinking from its acceptance. He began with uttering ambiguous generalities about the vast extent of the empire, and the arduousness of the task of governing it.[1] From thence he proceeded to insinuate that the charge was in fact too great for a single hand, and might fully tax the powers of more than one associate. He hinted, perhaps, at the policy of appointing a third triumvirate, to divide the cares to which Augustus had alone been equal; just as it had required the vigour of three combined imperators to wield the sword of Cæsar. He was not unaware that among the traditions of the republic the triumvirate was more obnoxious than even the monarchy, and he might anticipate that the fear of returning to a form of government stamped with the fatal impress of massacre and civil war, would throw his hearers upon the only feasible alternative which remained, the perpetuation of the imperial supremacy. The senators received his harangue in silence, rather from their uncertainty as to his

[1] Vell. ii. 124.: Veluti luctatio civitatis fuit pugnantis cum Cæsare senatus populique, ut stationi paternæ succederet; illius ut potius æqualem civem quam eminentem liceret agere principem.

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real wishes than from any hesitation of their own; for, with the exception of the few among them who might cherish personal schemes of aggrandizement, there can be no doubt that the general sentiment was that of acquiescence, however sullen and reluctant, in the substitution of Tiberius for Augustus. But the smooth progress of the artifice was presently interrupted by the captious question of Asinius, who ventured to inquire of the speaker what part of the imperial functions he was prepared to accept for himself. Tiberius was for a moment embarrassed; but speedily recovering himself, he replied adroitly that it was not for him to choose or to reject any particular charge, when for his own part he would willingly be excused from all. The unwary or petulant inquirer sought to cover his own rapid retreat by declaring he had no other motive in asking, but to show by the answer he should elicit that the state was one and indivisible, and could only be governed by a single head. The session ended with the general understanding of all parties that the government should continue in the hands of Tiberius, with all the functions which had been accumulated on his predecessor.[1] No formal decree, however, was pronounced to this effect; he already possessed the imperium, which required no further instrument to give him the control of the

All the functions of empire left by tacit understanding in the hands of Tiberius.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 11—13.; Suet. *Tib.* 24.; Comp. Dion, lvii. 2. That there was no regular decree on this occasion, as was usual in later times, for conferring the imperial prerogatives, appears from the fact that Tacitus and Suetonius are not agreed as to the turn the discussion ultimately took: the former gives us to understand that Tiberius broke up the meeting without any specific declaration of assuming the empire; but Suetonius says, with more probability, that he finally agreed to undertake the charge.

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legions and provinces; the tribunitian and proconsular power had been conferred upon him on a previous occasion, and the prerogatives of the consular were sufficiently understood without a distinct and formal recognition. The principate was, perhaps, virtually conferred without a special act, by tacitly yielding to him the first voice in the senate, and the popular suffrage, in which lay the disposal of the chief pontificate, might easily be taken for granted. The time had come when, whatever artifices might still be required for the management of the senate, the chief of the state need keep terms no longer with the popular assemblies. The appointment of the consuls, with the form of popular suffrage, was now finally withdrawn from the centuries, and therewith the last frail remnant of the political privileges of the Roman people was substantially abolished. The emperor henceforth nominated four candidates, and allowed the senate simply to make choice of two from among them: but the aspirants for honour were no longer subjected to the humiliation of suing, or the pain of being refused, and the express recommendation of the emperor himself was considered as in fact authoritative. The senators accepted with gratitude the relief from a delicate and invidious responsibility, and the people acquiesced in the change with scarcely an audible murmur.[1]

The last political privileges of the people abolished.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 15.: Tum primum a campo comitia ad Patres translata sunt, &c.; but at the close of this book (c. 81.) the same author remarks, in apparent contradiction to this statement, De comitiis consularibus, quæ tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quidquam firmare ausim, &c. The subject will be entered into more fully in a subsequent chapter.

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Discontent of the legions in Pannonia.

While the supreme power was thus quietly passing from hand to hand at the centre of the empire, events of no little moment were happening on the frontiers, where the seeds of many future revolutions were being sown by a mutinous soldiery. The spirit of insubordination, which Cæsar had experienced on more than one occasion among his own legionaries, was the direct effect of his indiscriminate enlistments, and the licentious principles he had instilled into his followers. The three legions which now occupied Pannonia under Junius Blæsus were composed in a great measure of the recruits promiscuously levied to repress the recent revolt. Though among these many veteran soldiers were mingled, it seems impossible that the complaints they put forth of having served thirty or even forty years without obtaining their discharge, could have been true of any large number. Harassed and oppressed as the actual veterans may have been by a service protracted, under the necessities of the times, far beyond the legitimate period, we may conjecture that the insubordination of the recent raw levies had given an impulse to their dissatisfaction. They complained of their wounds and privations; of the intolerable harshness of camp discipline; of the meagreness of their daily dole; of the miserable and distant recompense of allotments on a barbarous frontier. The few days of rest or rejoicing which the legate allowed them, on the confirmation of the empire to Tiberius, were occupied by the most ardent spirits in fanning the flames of sedition; yet it must be observed, that among all their murmurs, they never pretended that the death of

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Augustus released them from their legitimate subjection to his associate in command.[1]

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Drusus is sent to quell the mutiny.

The authority of Blæsus was soon overthrown. The troops insisted that the term of their service should be definitely fixed at sixteen years.[2] They demanded also a further advance in the rate of the legionary's pay, which Julius Cæsar had already raised to double the earlier standard of the republic.[3] The legatus was compelled to send his son to Rome as the bearer of these requisitions, which wore the character of a defiance, for the Roman in the camp lost every right of the freeman; his only patron was the tribune in the Forum, his sole means of redress his vote in the Comitia. Nor while awaiting a reply from the emperor and senate, did the soldiers return frankly to obedience. Conscious of the crime of indiscipline, they broke into frenzies of anger and jealousy, struck or slew their centurions, and insulted their commanders. Drusus, being despatched promptly with some prætorian cohorts to recover their fidelity, found

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 16.

[2] Hitherto the term of service for the legionary was twenty years, and sixteen for the prætorian. But even at the end of that period Augustus had introduced the custom of exauctoratio, by which the legionaries were relieved from some of the more severe duties of the service, but still retained under their colours, instead of missio or complete discharge.

[3] The soldiers demanded the denarius per day instead of the ten ases. The denarius had been raised to the value of sixteen, or, as some say, twelve ases, and such was apparently the increased demand. But, if I understand Pliny rightly, this point they never actually gained: the denarius continuing always to be counted as ten ases in military payments. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 3.: Denarium in militari stipendio semper pro x assibus datum. But the whole question is involved in great difficulty. See Lipsius, Excurs. vi. and vii. in Tac. and the notes of Walther, Ritter, and other commentators.

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them in open mutiny, occupying their camp and drawing their rations, but refusing every work and exercise. The prince was furnished with no definite instructions; his father had withheld from him the requisite authority for conceding demands which he still hoped to evade. The soldiers were infuriated at this disappointment. Drusus was actually attacked by tumultuary bands and with difficulty rescued; night intervened, but the morning seemed about to dawn upon the entire defection of three legions. At that crisis the moon became suddenly eclipsed, and before it emerged from the ominous shadow, clouds had gathered over the sky, and seemed, to the affrighted and ignorant multitude, to threaten its total extinction. The men were struck with dismay; and while the fit of fear or remorse was upon them, Drusus adroitly seized the moment for promises and caresses. In return for some vague assurances of redress from the emperor he engaged them to surrender the persons of their ringleaders, upon whom he inflicted the full vengeance of outraged discipline, with the consent and approbation of the fickle crowd.[1]

Insubordination among the legions on the Rhine.

Almost at the same moment, and from similar motives of discontent, a mutiny had broken out also among the legions on the Rhine. The danger to the state was far greater in this case than in the other; the army of the Rhenish frontier numbered not less than eight legions, posted in two divisions in the Upper and Lower Germania; and the com-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 16—30.: Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici jubet. But could any commander have done otherwise?

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mand of the entire force was intrusted to the gallant Germanicus, as governor-general of the whole province of Gaul. Not only did the mutineers clamour for higher pay and more indulgent treatment; but the legions of the lower force proclaimed that they would carry the youthful Cæsar triumphantly to Rome, and gird him with the sword of their deceased chief. They obtained complete mastery over their officers, and the legate Aulus Cæcina, who commanded them; and their outbreak was scarcely kept in check by the yet undecided attitude of the upper division, which C. Silius was still able to restrain from open mutiny. Germanicus himself was absent at Lugdunum, where he was presiding over the census of the Gaulish states. Here it was that he received the news of the late emperor's death, together with orders from Tiberius to tender to the provincials the oath of allegiance to the elect of the senate. This duty he was intent upon discharging, without apprehension of any military outbreak, when the report of the state of affairs in his camp suddenly interrupted his proceedings. The soldiers had assailed their officers with violence; they had murdered some of their tribunes and centurions; all obedience was at an end, and the legate himself was constrained to deliver into their hands the objects of their bitterest hatred.[1]

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Germanicus hastens from Lugdunum to suppress it.

The Roman quarters in the territory of the Ubii had been for some days in a state of anarchy and confusion, when Germanicus arrived and threw himself boldly into the midst. The young Cæsar

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 31, 32.; Suet. *Tib.* 25.; Dion, lvii. 5.

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was personally adored by the soldiers; nor, had it been otherwise, were any of them prepared to discard the authority of a scion of the imperial house. As soon as he appeared among them they cast themselves at his feet, imploring his sympathy with their just complaints, the most aged of the veterans seizing his hands, it was said, and thrusting them, as if to kiss them, within their lips, that he might feel their toothless gums, and learn to appreciate the length of their ill-requited services. Others showed him the scars of their wounds, others again the marks of the centurion's vine-rod. The men soon lashed themselves into fresh fury, and with loud cries demanded of Germanicus to lead them straight to Rome, and assume the empire under their protection. The young hero shrank with horror from such a treason, and possibly they might in their frenzy have done violence to his person had not his attendants snatched him hastily from their grasp. But in the meanwhile their emissaries were soliciting the adhesion of the legions of the Upper Germania, stationed at Moguntia; and while yet undecided as to their ultimate objects, they already talked of commencing the career of rebellion by the plunder of Ubii and the cities of Gaul. The military chiefs were well aware that this dissolution of discipline on the frontier would bring the Germans immediately across it, and the civil war which would ensue between the faithful allies of Rome and her own insurgent children would be complicated by foreign invasion and possibly by a provincial revolt. Assembled in the imperator's tent, they hastily concerted an offer of terms to the soldiers, to which they pledged the

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name of Tiberius himself. Besides the required revision of the term of service, ample donatives in money were promised, as soon as the legions should return to their winter quarters. This was not enough. The insurgents demanded that the stipulated sum should be paid down on the instant, and the private coffers of Germanicus and his officers, as well as of the emperor himself, were ransacked to satisfy them.[1]

The popularity of Germanicus, and his success in quelling the mutiny.

This sacrifice was after all unavailing. The appearance of envoys from the senate, charged to examine the soldiers' demands, was the signal for a fresh disturbance; for the alarm quickly spread that the concessions made on the spur of momentary danger would fail to be ratified on maturer deliberation. The more violent of the mutineers persuaded their comrades to refuse all accommodation, and so formidable was the attitude now assumed that Germanicus was forced to surrender the eagles to the keeping of the rebellious legionaries, and in fact to relinquish the command. The most he could do was to secure a retreat for the envoys, upon whom the fury of the insurgents was about to fall, and at the same time for his wife and children, whom he was anxious to remove to a place of safety. Agrippina, a woman of masculine spirit and devoted to her husband, could hardly be persuaded to quit his side. When she at last took leave, with a few female attendants, carrying in her arms her infant child Caius, the pet and playfellow of the soldiers, the feelings of the spectators were moved to remorse. Germanicus seized

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 34—36.

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the moment to remind them of the claims of his own family upon them, and of the love they had borne to his father Drusus; nor did he fail to recall to their remembrance the glories of Augustus, the victories of Tiberius, and the spirit with which the immortal Julius had quelled the mutiny of his own soldiers by addressing them as *citizens*. This last despairing appeal proved completely successful. The insurgents fell on their knees, and implored him to punish the guilty, to spare the penitent, and lead the pardoned host directly against the enemy. Meanwhile they conjured him to recall his wife and child, and not leave them as hostages in the land of the Gauls, but retain them under the safeguard of the Roman legions. Nor did they fail to deliver of their own accord to the punishment of the axe and rod those whom they regarded as their ringleaders, whom their officers gladly left it to themselves to point out. The ferocious zeal with which each offender denounced such as he chose to think more guilty than himself presents a fearful picture of human passion.[1]

Character of Germanicus.

When we meet among the scions of the imperial house with one described as eminently virtuous and noble, we must be prepared to hear that his career was melancholy, that his promise ended in disappointment, and his death was premature. Such a death at least doubly gilds his virtues, while it may anticipate the development of crimes or vices. Of all the chiefs of Roman history, none perhaps has been represented to us in fairer colours than the ill-fated Germanicus. We have seen already that he was the nephew of Tiberius,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 37—44.

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being the son of the gallant Drusus, whose title he was permitted to inherit, by a daughter of the triumvir Antonius.[1] Augustus had connected him still more closely with himself, by giving him in marriage the child of Agrippa by his own daughter Julia. Adopted by Tiberius, he was placed on the same line of succession as his cousin Drusus, to whom he was two or three years senior; and after the deaths of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, who had shone so briefly as twin stars in the firmament, the fortunes of the two adoptive brothers seemed to rise together in auspicious conjunction.[2] Whatever brilliant future might be in store for Germanicus, the Romans, if we may believe their posthumous testimony to his merits, were fully persuaded that he deserved it. His natural abilities had been carefully cultivated. He had been trained equally in the art of war and the accomplishments of civil employment. His first laurels had been gained in his twenty-second year, in the wars of Pannonia and Dalmatia, the successful issue of which was in a great measure ascribed to his energy and conduct.[3] In the year 765 he had been summoned to the consulship, and in the highest rank of magistracy, young as he was, his countrymen had marked in him all the skill in affairs which was commonly attained only by use and experience.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 1.; *Calig.* 1.; Plut. *Anton.* 87.

[2] Germanicus, born in September 739 (see above, ch. xxxviii. p. 328. note), was now, at the close of 767, in his twenty-ninth year. The date of the birth of Drusus is not accurately known; it was probably a short time before the separation of Tiberius from his mother Vipsania, in 742.

[3] Dion, lvi. 15. See above.

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The government of the Gaulish provinces, too extensive a command to be entitled a mere proconsulate, followed upon the expiration of his functions in the city; and there, at the head of eight legions, before the most formidable opponents of the Roman power, he stood in the eyes of the soldiers and provincials as little less than an emperor himself. The large training of the highest Roman education had fitted him, amidst these public avocations, to take a graceful interest in literature. His compositions in Greek and Latin verse were varied, and perhaps more than respectable for school exercises, with which only they should be compared.[1] Nor did he neglect the practice of oratory, which he employed, as was always specially recorded of those whose memory the Romans delighted to honour, in the defence rather than the prosecution of the accused.[2] His manners were eminently *civil* both at home and abroad, such as became the son of the man who, according to the fond belief of the citizens, would have restored the commonwealth; and while he comported himself towards his countrymen as an equal, his demeanour to foreigners and allies was

[1] The Greek comedy of Germanicus (Suet. *Calig.* 3.) was probably a mere scholastic imitation, such as was generally the character of the Greek verses of the young Roman nobles. His translation of Aratus (which I believe to be genuine) may have served to relieve the dulness of the study of astronomy without the aid of telescopes or the Principia. But Ovid solicits his patronage for the most learned of his own works, at a time when such applications were not merely compliments. *Fast.* i. init. Comp. *Ex Pont.* iv. 8. 67.

[2] Suet. l. c.; Dion, lvi. 26.; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 21.:

Quæ sit enim culti facundia sensimus oris,
Civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis.

affable and condescending. In the camp his behaviour was in striking contrast both with the reserve of Augustus and the mal-address of Tiberius. He lived freely among his soldiers, whose humours he studied to flatter, like the first and greatest of the Cæsars, by genial sympathy and kindness. When he sought to explore the sentiments of his men, on the eve of a perilous undertaking, by traversing their quarters disguised at night, he might hear his own merits made the theme of their conversation, and assure himself of the confidence they reposed in his valour and fortune.[1] His popularity with all classes, especially with the soldiers, was fully shared by his consort Agrippina. The greatest praise they could bestow upon a woman was to liken her to the Roman matrons of a hallowed antiquity, and to bless her for her love to her husband, and the fertility which they regarded as its surest token.[2]

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The strong contrast which the character of Germanicus thus presented to that of his uncle might have given cause for jealousy and distrust even in a private family: between members of a ruling dynasty, the course and succession of which were established on known and long-respected principles, it would have led no doubt to estrange-

Jealousy of Tiberius.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 13. The occasion will be specified below.

[2] Agrippina bore her husband nine children, of whom three died in infancy, the others, three sons and as many daughters, survived their father, and will all find a place in these pages. Suet. *Calig.* 7. With regard to one who died in childhood, a pleasing trait is recorded of Augustus: Insigni festivitate, cujus effigiem habitu Cupidinis in æde Capitolinæ Veneris Livia dedicavit, Augustus in cubiculo suo positam, quotiescunque introiret, exosculabatur.

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ment and mutual dislike; but the misfortune both of Tiberius and his nephew lay in the vagueness of the title by which the one enjoyed power, and the other might be expected to aspire to it. The claim of Julius Cæsar to reign over the Romans was emphatically that of the worthiest. He founded his usurpation on the virtual presumption that the republic required a chief, and he was himself the fittest to become such. It was the constant aim of Augustus, of which he never lost sight for a moment, to strengthen his human right as the heir of Julius by the divine right of moral fitness, to which he also pretended. This human right, if I may so call it, of inheritance might be strengthened in the third descent; but Tiberius, painfully alive to his own deficiencies, and conscious of no personal claim to the reverence of his countrymen, felt that the divine right no longer pertained to him, and was constantly harassed by the apprehension that the Romans, still looking for the worthiest to reign over them, would turn from him to the younger scion of the worthiest of Roman houses. Every despot no doubt is discontented at being outshone by the rising glories of his presumptive successor; but few have the excuse of the unfortunate Tiberius, who felt that every laurel placed upon the brow of Germanicus constituted a claim, not to succeed him upon the throne, but to eject him from it. Other usurpers have stepped at once within the circle of admitted principles of descent. The subjects of a Napoleon or a Cromwell were familiar with the idea of dynastic sovereignty; but it was otherwise with the children of the old Roman republic.

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The Cæsars had every rule and principle of monarchy to create; and it was not till they had established the rights of legitimacy, that the emperors could feel the personal security, which was the best guarantee for their temperate exercise of power. The mutiny of the German legions revealed to Tiberius a secret of fatal significance. The cries of the legionaries, *Cæsar Germanicus will not endure to be a subject*, confirmed the fearful presentiment of his own self-disparaging conscience.[1]

He determines to employ the discontented soldiers.

After all, this self-disparagement, this distrust in his own abilities, which were undoubtedly considerable, was the great and fatal defect in the character of the self-tormentor. The state of pupilage in which he had been held by Augustus may account perhaps for this want of reliance on his own ample powers, and the meanness with which, as we shall see, he threw himself upon the support of a favourite, a man far less able than himself. The trifling results of his own last campaign in Germany made him the more jealous of the plans which Germanicus now urged upon him for the entire subjugation of the insolent victors of Teutoburg. Yet it was more than ever necessary to employ the discontented legions, who had placed themselves without reserve under their young Cæsar's orders, and to precipitate them headlong upon the Elbe might be the surest way of averting a march upon the Tiber. The soldiers themselves were burning for occupation: they were anxious to wash out in blood the stain of mutiny,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 31.: Magna spe fore ut Germanicus Cæsar imperium alterius pati nequiret.

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which ever left a dark and burning spot on the conscience of the Roman legionary.

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During the crisis of these military outbreaks, the conduct of the emperor himself was marked by consummate artifice and caution. He successfully evaded binding himself to any precise stipulation in favour of the mutineers, by which his supreme authority could be compromised, while he allowed his son and nephew to treat with them, and amuse them with specious hopes which they had not the power to confirm.[1] His advisers at Rome frequently urged him to go in person and quell the sedition by the majesty of his presence, as, until the latest periods of his reign, Augustus, on every great emergency, had quitted the city for the provinces. Always professing to be about to take some decided step, Tiberius continued to allege excuses for indecision and inactivity. He was well aware that at Rome he was supported by the name and influence of the senate, which as a body was entirely devoted to the imperial regime. In the camp, on the contrary, he knew not on whom he might depend, or how far the traditions of military allegiance still retained their potency. By remaining within the precincts of the city he could escape a direct comparison with Drusus and Germanicus, from which he shrank with the instinct of self-distrust; and there he was under the protection of the

[1] The cry for a sixteen years' service seems to have been listened to, but Tiberius soon afterwards took occasion to disregard his concession, and fixed twenty years for the regular legionary term. Tac. *Ann.* i. 78.: Ita proximæ seditiònis male consulta . . . . abolita in posterum.

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armed force of the capital, which at the moment of assuming power he had bound to his service by the most solemn formulas. Moreover, to whichever of the two camps, the Pannonian or the German, he should repair, his own jealous nature feared to awaken the jealousy of the other. Finally, he argued, it rather befitted the majesty and sanctity of the imperial power to judge of the complaints of its subjects at a distance, than to wrangle with them on the spot. Nevertheless, to break the force of the petulant murmurs which assailed him, Tiberius pretended to have resolved to quit Rome for the frontiers, and caused preparations to be made for his anticipated departure. But first the winter season, and when that was passed, the pressure of business at home, still furnished him with pleas for delay. His own ministers and intimates were long deceived as to his real intentions, the citizens still longer, and longest of all the provinces themselves.[1] Meanwhile he was anxious to court the good opinion of the senators by the general conduct of his administration at home. In matters of personal concern he rivalled and even exceeded the moderation of Augustus himself. He interposed with specious words to restrain the extravagance of the nobles in showering compliments upon him, and checked the servile impatience with which they pressed forward to swear obedience to his enactments, not only past but future. In the senate

Policy of Tiberius in the Senate.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 47.: Ceterum, ut jam jamque iturus, legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus, primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

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he suffered every one to discuss his measures with freedom, to propose motions of their own, upon which he was often among the last to declare his own sentiments. He was proud of the appellation of Prince, but would not endure to be addressed as Imperator or Dominus.[1] While he encouraged the appointment of priests, rituals, and games in honour of his deified predecessor, he vehemently repelled the preposterous adoration proffered to himself by citizens or provincials. Yet the moderation of Tiberius was simply politic, and was tinged by no ray of generosity or clemency. The hapless Ovid he suffered still to languish in the exile from which neither entreaties nor flatteries availed for his release.[2] The lapse of fifteen years had not softened the bitterness of his spite against his unfortunate consort, who was now treated with even increased rigour in her confinement at Rhegium, till she sank under her sorrows, and possibly under the most cruel privations, within the first few months of her husband's elevation.[3] Her paramour, Sempronius Gracchus, retained in an island off the coast of Africa during the lifetime of Augustus, was slain by one of the earliest mandates of his successor. The only trait of gentleness the new ruler exhi-

[1] Dion, lvii. 7, 8.

[2] See note, chap. xxxviii. p. 344. The date æt. 60 may range between April 770 and April 771.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* i. 53. The death of the elder Julia is placed by this writer within the year 767, which embraced little more than three months of the new principate. Yet he speaks of her death as the result of the long and deliberate severities of the new emperor: Inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exilii ratus.

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bited was in his behaviour to his mother, whom he never ceased to regard with respect and even with awe, allowing himself to be swayed, thwarted, and even controlled by her to the last, with the docility of his childish years.[1] Nevertheless, though he suffered Livia to assume great authority over himself, he strictly forbade, as a Roman matron, her taking any ostensible share in public affairs, and curtailed the extraordinary honours the senate would have lavished upon her.

Germanicus leads the legions across the Rhine.

But we must return once more, with the historian Tacitus, from Rome to the frontiers, and leave the gloom of the city of the despot, to follow to its culmination the star of his hero Germanicus. No sooner had he quelled the sedition in his camp, than the young Cæsar, postponing to a fitter moment the business of the census at Lugdunum, transported his restless and impatient soldiers across the Rhine, and promised them an opportunity of effacing the stain of their disaffection in the blood of the national enemies. The slaughter of Varus was yet unavenged, and the latest incursion of Tiberius had failed to restore the authority of the empire on the right bank of the river. An attempt, indeed, had been made to define the frontier of a Transrhenane province between the Lippe and the Ruhr by the line of the great Cæsian forest, and a supplemental rampart of wood and earth; but this work had been left incomplete, and Germanicus now cut his way through it without hesitation.[2] He was resolved

[1] Dion, lvii. 12.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* i. 50.: Prŏpero agmine sylvam Cæsiam limitemque a

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to place the bulwarks of the Roman empire much farther to the east. Dividing his forces into four corps (wedges the Romans called them, and the name was well applied to the service in which they were employed, of breaking their way through every obstacle, and splitting to the heart the vast region before them), he swept a large extent of territory with fire and sword, and startled from their lairs the warriors of many formidable nations. The Marsi, whom he first reached, were taken unprepared, and made to suffer severely; the Bructeri, Tubantes, and Usipetes retreated before him, or evaded his onset, and widely as he spread his battalions he was unable to reduce them to the necessity of joining battle. Harassed on the flanks and rear, it was only by a great effort that he succeeded in shaking off the enemy whom he could not assail, and eventually bringing back his troops with no great a loss to their winter quarters. This incursion, it must be remembered, was made only towards the close of the year, when he could not expect to obtain any considerable results. Tiberius, it is said, received the account of these proceedings with mixed feelings. The suppression of the mutiny relieved him from painful anxiety; but he was far from satisfied with the sacrifice, as he deemed it, of dignity, and the compromise of state principles by which it had been achieved.[1]

Tiberio cœptum, scindit. Of the Cæsian forest nothing is known except from this passage. It extended probably along the right bank of the Rhine between the streams mentioned in the text, and the lines commenced by Tiberius were a rampart of earth and palisades beyond it.

[1] Tacitus adds (*Ann.* i. 52.) that he was mortified by the glory

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Nevertheless he consented to sanction the pledges his son and nephew had given; and in addressing the senate he enlarged upon the merits of Germanicus, while he affected to speak with modest reserve on those of his own son Drusus. Nor did he fail to crown the trifling exploits of this desultory incursion with the honour of a triumph, the celebration of which, however, was to be deferred till the conclusion of the war, and the anticipated conquest of Germany.

Renewed operations of Germanicus.

In the following year, the seven hundred and sixty-eighth of the city, Germanicus recommenced his operations at an earlier season, and with more definite plans. He had equipped a force of eight legions for the field, with perhaps an equal number of auxiliaries and irregular skirmishers: four of these legions were directed to cross the Rhine from the great camp at Vetera, under the command of the able and experienced Cæcina, and penetrate into the territory of the Cherusci; the other four were led by the Cæsar himself into the district of the Taunus, the modern Nassau, and were destined to keep in check the Chatti, whose powerful confederation was ever on the watch to act on the flank of a Roman armament in the north, or even to seize the opportunity of breaking into the Gaulish province. The resistance opposed by the Chatti in the field was easily overcome. The Romans destroyed their stronghold, known by the name of

Germanicus acquired. It is possible that the young general's popularity at Rome caused his success to be magnified or extolled beyond its deserts. It was evidently far too slender to cause in itself any reasonable ground of jealousy.

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Mattium; and having thus crippled their means of annoyance, returned to the Rhine, to co-operate in another direction with the expedition of Cæcina. The short interval which had elapsed since the defeat of Varus had sufficed to divide the victorious Cherusci into hostile parties. Segestes, the favourer of the Romans, besieged by his son-in-law Arminius, solicited their relief. He could offer, in return for their assistance, many of the spoils of the Varian disaster; and he was able to place in their hands the persons of many noble women, the wives or children of the chiefs of his nation. Among these was Thusnelda, his own daughter, the consort of Arminius, a woman of gallant spirit, and more attached to the cause of her husband than that of her parent. These important hostages were transferred to the other side of the Rhine. The wife of Arminius was sent to Ravenna in Italy, where the child she bore him was bred in the fashions of his captors, and lived, we are told, to experience some sport of adverse fortune, the particulars of which have failed to descend to us.[1] The division to whom this easy success had fallen was recalled once more to the Roman quarters, and Tiberius himself conferred upon Germanicus the title of imperator.

Germanicus revisits the scene of the slaughter of Varus.

Arminius and his faithful Cheruscans were bitterly exasperated at this treachery of their old chief, which seems indeed to have disgusted even those among them who would have laboured for a com-

[1] Tacitus related it in his Annals; and it must have found a place in one of the lost portions of that work, probably in the great lacuna in the fifth book, which refers to the date U. C. 784.: Educatus Ravennæ puer quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit in tempore memorabo. *Ann.* i. 58.

promise between the hostile powers. The defection of Inguiomerus, a kinsman of Arminius, but one who had leant hitherto to the Roman side, convinced Germanicus that there was no longer room for craft and diplomacy, but that the whole of north Germany must be thoroughly subdued by the sword, or finally abandoned. The temporizing policy of Augustus, who hoped gradually to sap the spirit of liberty by the charm of Roman caresses, must now be definitively abandoned; insult and injury had exasperated the German chiefs beyond the hope of reconciliation; arms alone could decide whether the empire should be extended to the Elbe, or restrained from henceforth within the barrier of the Rhine. This was the result to which the young Cæsar's impetuosity had brought affairs on the northern frontier: it now remained to see whether the same ardent spirit could avail to effect the conquest of the people whom it had so thoroughly alienated. Towards the summer his plans were matured for a simultaneous attack in three directions upon the Cherusci, as the heads of a general confederacy. Cæcina was ordered to lead his force through the country of the Bructeri to the Ems; a body of cavalry was dispatched by a more northerly route along the borders of the Frisii to the same destination; while the Cæsar himself embarked with four legions in a flotilla, to coast the shores of the continent, and enter the river at its mouth. The three corps effected their junction with that precision to which the Romans had now attained by repeated experiments on this magnificent scale,

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having swept away all resistance throughout the region between the Lippe and the ocean, which their eagles had scarcely penetrated before. Cæcina had overthrown the Bructeri in an engagement of some magnitude, and had recovered the eagle of the nineteenth legion. The division of Germanicus ascended the waters of the Ems, or skirted its banks, till it arrived at the forest of Teutoburg, where it explored the vestiges of the great disaster after the lapse of six years, and traced with mournful interest the remains of the camps of Varus, which showed by their diminished size and incomplete defences the failing strength and decreasing numbers of the flying force at each successive nightfall. The soldiers collected the bones of their slaughtered countrymen, still lying, some in heaps together, others scattered at unequal distances, and paid them the last funeral rites, erecting over the remains a monumental barrow, of which the Cæsar himself placed the first sod.[1] Advancing further, their harassed and excited feelings were relieved by an opportunity for action. Arminius had availed himself of the recesses of his forests to conceal a portion of his forces, and the Romans were too eager for the onset to take due precautions against a surprise. The skill and presence of mind of Germanicus saved them from a severe disaster; but though the victory remained at last undecided, it became prudent to withdraw

Funeral honours paid to the remains of the slaughtered Romans.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 61, 62.: Cupido Cæsarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique . . . . igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes, ut conjunctos ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, mæsti simul et infensi, condebant.

from the field, and retire to the stations already fortified on the Ems. From hence, on the approach of the winter season, they were led back to the frontier by the same routes by which they had advanced. Cæcina, making his way through a woody and marshy tract, towards the point where the Roman causeway terminated, was attacked by Arminius, and reduced to perilous straits. Enclosed within his lines by overpowering numbers, he owed his deliverance to the rashness of the enemy, who once repulsed were easily thrown into confusion by a dexterous manœuvre. A great slaughter ensued among them, from which Arminius made his escape with some loss of honour. The Romans thus relieved continued their homeward march, and arrived in safety at Vetera, where the rumour of their having been surrounded and cut to pieces had already preceded them. The residents of the left bank, in their alarm, would have broken their communications, and abandoned the fugitives to their fate, had not Agrippina shown herself worthy of her husband's and her father's courage. Standing herself at the head of the bridge, from which she refused to move, she awaited the return of the expected remnant of the rout; and as the long train of four unbroken legions defiled, with their ensigns displayed, before her, she addressed them with the warmest acknowledgments of their deserts, her heart swelling with wifelike pride and emotion.[1]

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 69. The writer obtained this anecdote from the elder Pliny, who wrote an account of the German campaigns. Vetera Castra is the modern Xanten, nearly opposite to Wesel. Mannert. *Geogr.* iii. 431.

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Disaster of Germanicus on his return by sea.

Meanwhile the return of Germanicus himself was subjected to perils of another kind, and clouded with serious disasters. He had descended the Ems on board his vessels; but when he put out to sea, among the shallows of the treacherous Frisian coast, he found it necessary to lighten them. For this purpose he disembarked two of his legions, charging them to conduct their march homeward within sight of the ocean. In obeying these directions, however, too closely, a great number of the men were lost in the high equinoctial tides which overflowed the level shores, and swept away a large portion of their stores and baggage.[1] The main strength of the legions was at last collected once more in its winter quarters; but to recruit them to their proper footing, and supply their full complement of horses and military equipments, it was necessary to put not only the Rhenish provinces under requisition, but the whole extent of Gaul, and even Spain and Italy. The collection of the mere means of transport for such forces as the Roman generals moved year by year in these regions, through vast tracts of uncultivated heath or woodland, from which every vehicle and beast of burden was swept away by the retreating natives, must have taxed to the utmost the resources of all the provinces of the West. The more we study the history of these expensive though fruitless campaigns, the more shall we be induced to admire the powers of the Roman government, the effective organization of every branch of its service, and the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 70.

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well-trained energies of all its officers, from the imperator to the centurion and primipile.[1]

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It appears from this narrative that the success of Germanicus in these expeditions had been dubious at best. He had left no more solid monument of his prowess than the sepulchral tumulus erected over the Varian remains; and this the natives indignantly levelled with the ground as soon as his back was turned. No fortress had been established to check the return of the enemy into the tracts from which he had been for a moment dislodged; no roads had been formed to expedite the advance of a future expedition; the savage mode of warfare which the invader had as usual permitted himself, in sweeping the country with fire and sword, had made it not less untenable by Roman settlers than by its native possessors. Undoubtedly Tiberius was far from satisfied with these results; and while he suffered the citizens to regard the surrender of Segestes and the capture of Thusnelda, the sole trophies of the campaign, as substantial tokens of success, for which not Germanicus only, but his lieutenants also, might deserve the triumphal insignia, he was deeply vexed at heart with the real failure of the year's exertions. His ill-humour vented itself in murmurs against the conduct of his nephew, who had damped, he said, the courage of the legionaries by displaying to them the bloody traces of a Roman defeat; he even pretended that, in performing funeral rites, he

[1] Tac. *Ann.* 71*: Ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliæ, Hispaniæ, Italia; quod cuique promptum, arma, equos, aurum, offerentes.

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had profaned the sanctity of his Augural office. He cavilled at the spirited behaviour of Agrippina, by which, he insinuated, she had overstepped the duties of her sex, to ingratiate herself with the emperor's legions. What would be left, he asked, for the imperators themselves to do, if their wives could venture to pass along the lines of the maniples, to approach the standards, and offer with their own hands largesses to the soldiers. He complained that the mutinous spirit of the army had been conjured by the intrigues of a woman, when the name of the Roman Princeps had failed to coerce it.[1]

The Romans offended at this jealousy.

The assumption of so ungracious an attitude towards the defenders of the national interests, in the midst of foreign foes and domestic sedition, was at the best impolitic; the Romans regarded it, moreover, as unjust and dishonourable, and unworthy of the descendant of their magnanimous Cæsars. They ascribed it, however, less to the jealous temper of their ruler himself, than to the sinister influence of a low-born favourite, impatient of the successes of a rival, who now prompted the apprehensions of his master, and suggested the recall of Germanicus, that he might no longer spend the blood and treasure of the empire in schemes for his own advancement, from which the nation was represented as deriving no benefit.[2] This fatal adviser will be introduced more formally on the stage at a future period: it is enough to say of him now that Tiberius listened with complacency to this question-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 69.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Accendebat hæc onerabatque Sejanus.

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able counsel. But the hesitation which was now becoming habitual with him in all public affairs still prevented him from acting upon it; while the young Cæsar, burning for martial fame, and equally unconscious, perhaps, both of the suspicions which were raised against him, and of the failure of his recent enterprise, was redoubling his preparations for another campaign, and dreaming of more conclusive successes.[1]

Third campaign of Germanicus. A. D. 16. A. U. 769.

The disappointments of the last expedition were ascribed at the Roman quarters to no defect in the valour of the soldiers or the skill of their chiefs, but simply to the natural difficulties of the route they had chosen, which lay further to the north, and was more embarrassed by swamps, forests, and broad rivers, than the regions with which the invaders had made themselves acquainted in their earlier expeditions. It may be supposed, moreover, that the inhospitable wilderness was exhausted of all its scanty resources. Accordingly, Germanicus prepared a naval armament on a larger scale than before, which he collected in the island of the Rhine and Wahal, and directed through the channel of the lake Flevus to the ocean.[2] Before embarking, however, he sent his legate, C. Silius, to make a demonstration against the Chatti in the south, and led himself a force of six legions along the valley of the Lippe, to secure the roads and strongholds, and provide for the defence and supply of

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 5.

[2] He descended into this lake by the Fossa Drusiana, the channel which Drusus cut, as before mentioned, from the Rhine to the Yssel.

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He confronts the German forces on the Weser.

his armies on their return.[1] Having effected these objects he transported the main strength of his armaments, in a thousand vessels, to the mouth of the Ems, thus saving them a great amount of time and fatigue. Leaving his ships at their anchorage under sufficient protection, he then directed his march towards the south-east, so as to strike the bank of the Weser at a spot where the Germans had assembled a large force to oppose to him. In the ranks of the invading army there was a brother of Arminius, entrusted with a command, whose fidelity to the Roman cause was attested by the loss of an eye in its service, and by the surname of Flavius, which he had adopted as the client of a Roman officer. Arminius, we are told, demanded a parley with the renegade across the stream which divided the hostile arrays; and when, according to the agreement, they were left to converse alone, began by inquiring the occasion of his wound. Flavius specified the place and the engagement. *And what*, demanded the other, *was your reward? Increase of pay, a gold chain and chaplet, with other military distinctions*, was the reply. And when the German freeman retorted with a sneer on these *vile badges of servitude*, the Romanized Flavius continued unabashed to urge upon him the obvious inducements to submission,—such as the magnitude of the Roman power, the clemency of the emperor, the kindness with which his wife and child had been treated, and, on the other hand, the sure penalties of resistance. Arminius replied by appealing with rude eloquence to the love of their

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 6.

country, the memory of their fathers, and the venerable names of their ancestral divinities: he contrasted with glowing pride his own position, as the chief of his own race and nation, with the subaltern rank of his recreant brother. From argument the debate was presently swayed to rebukes and mutual invectives, until, exasperated as they were, they would have plunged into the stream and decided their controversy in its waves, had not the comrades of Flavius interfered and carried him away, leaving Arminius vainly defying with uplifted voice and hands the adversaries whom he could not reach.[1] A. D. 16. A. U. 769.

Germanicus explores the courage of his soldiers.

The next morning the Romans effected the passage of the Weser in the face of the enemy, who were not unwilling perhaps to give way, and draw them still further into the heart of a thick impracticable jungle with a broad river in the rear. In the depths of a sacred forest the Germans had collected the forces of many nations, and were preparing to assail the invaders' camp by night. The poetical imagination of our eloquent historian Tacitus kindles with the approach of the catastrophe of the great epic of the German wars, and from the Homeric dialogue of his Flavius and Arminius, he proceeds to charm us with the night adventure of his hero Germanicus. Not trusting entirely to the reports of his brave but sanguine officers,—and the spirit of flattery, he thought, might sway the representation of his personal attendants,—the imperator resolved to explore, disguised, and in the night, the actual temper of the soldiers, and ascertain how far he might rely on

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 9, 10.

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the martial courage which had never yet been fairly confronted with the victors of the Teutoburg. Wrapping himself in his Gaulish bearskin, and attended by a single companion, he traversed the lanes of the camp and leant over the tent-ropes. The soldiers he found everywhere vying with one another in the praise of their young general: one boasted of his noble descent, another of his manly beauty; his patience, his kindness, his equal and serene temper were in the mouths of all. To-morrow, they said, in the ranks, they would prove their gratitude and affection: they would sacrifice to vengeance and to glory the faithless foe who had violated the peace of Rome. At this moment an emissary of Arminius, riding his horse to the foot of the rampart, proclaimed aloud in the Latin tongue his leader's promise of wives, lands, and a daily largess to all that would abandon the Roman service and take refuge in the opposite ranks. The offer was received with shouts of indignant derision. *Let but the day break*, exclaimed the legionaries, *let but battle be joined, and we will seize each for himself on wives and lands and plunder*. Germanicus withdrew well satisfied with the result of his experiment, which was succeeded by a dream of favourable omen. The harangue he addressed next morning to his men contains an animated description of the disadvantages under which the barbarian laboured, from the size and weight of his weapons, his want of defensive armour, his slow and unwieldy motions, his ignorance of discipline, and impatience both of toil and pain. Every thing that made him most terrible to

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the sight became when examined an encumbrance and a defect. Thus encouraged and confirmed in their warmest hopes and expectations, the Romans prepared themselves cheerfully for the combat.[1] On the other hand, Arminius and his associate chiefs were not less prompt and energetic. Each at the head of his own people described the Roman army as the mere remnant of the Varian legions, the swiftest of foot, who had saved themselves once by flight from German vengeance: they were no other than the recreants of the Rhenish camps, who would rather rise against their own officers than rally in the face of the enemy. These, they said, were the slaves who had been reduced by stripes, the wretches who had skulked from the pursuit of the brave Cherusci on the further shores of the ocean. Nor were the Germans suffered to forget how cruel and rapacious these ruffians had shown themselves in their moments of unmerited success: the freedom of the patriot warriors was the last possession left to them — let them now defend it with their lives.[2]

Arminius encourages the Germans.

The position of the Germans occupied the declivity of the hills which bounded the valley of the Weser, extending into the broad plain at their foot and resting upon a wood in the rear, which, from the absence of undergrowth, presented no obstacle to a retreat.[3] The Romans, however,

Great battle and victory of the Romans.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 12, 13.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 14.

[3] Tacitus calls the spot Campus cui Idistaviso nomen. There is no clue for identifying it. See the article on the word in Smith's Dictionary of Geography, in which Grimm is said to have shown that the plain was probably called Idisiaviso, that is, *the maiden's meadow*,

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having crossed the stream at various points, contrived by skilful movements to outflank their opponents; and while the cavalry gained the wood behind them, the main strength of the legions engaged their attention in the plain. The front line of the Germans, drawn up at the foot of the hills, was driven back and sought refuge in the wood, at the same moment that the bodies kept in reserve behind, assailed by the Roman horse, were dislodged from its shelter, and driven headlong towards the plain. The Cherusci, the bravest and steadiest of the native forces, had occupied the centre of the declivity; but neither their resolute courage, nor the skill and vigour of their leader Arminius, availed to sustain them against the overwhelming pressure of the conflicting tides of fugitives on either side. Thus thrown into confusion, the rout of the Germans was rapid and complete. Arminius and Inguiomerus still maintained the unequal contest with conspicuous gallantry; but hemmed in between the advancing force of the Romans, their destruction seemed inevitable, and they owed their lives, it was suspected, to the treachery of some German auxiliaries, who suffered them to burst through their ranks, disfigured and wounded. Pressed in front and rear, the remnant of their host took flight at every point where they could find an opening: great numbers were slain in attempting to cross the river

from idisi, a maiden, and wiese, a meadow. This is better at least than the extraordinary notion, suggested I believe by Luden, that the Romans represented by this word the answer some German gave them on being asked, *What place is this? It is a wiese.*

in front, many more fell in the wood in the rear, where they climbed the trees for safety, but were transfixed with arrows, or crushed by the felling of the trees themselves: throughout an area of ten miles across the ground was thickly strewn with the bodies of the slain; and if the combat itself had been soon decided, the pursuit and slaughter continued without intermission till nightfall. At the close of the bloody day the victors reared a great mound of earth, which they surmounted with the arms of their slaughtered enemies, and the chains found ready in their camp for binding their captives. On the summit they raised a stone pillar inscribed with the names of the conquered tribes; and, finally, the army saluted the absent Tiberius with the title of Imperator, ascribing, with redoubled loyalty, the fortune of the day to his sacred auspices.[1]

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Renewed engagement, and final success of the Romans.

Yet no sooner had they completed these memorials of their triumph than the worsted foe rallied, it seems, for another contest Doubtless the victory had been far less complete than the flatterers of the empire or the partial panegyrist of Germanicus had represented it. The barbarians, we are assured, were about to fly beyond the Elbe, and relinquish their territories to the invader for ever, when the report of the erection of this monument of their disgrace roused them from their panic and despair. Once more flinging all timid counsels to the winds, they seized a spot surrounded by woods and morasses, and defended by an old native earthwork, and there collecting

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 16—18.

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in a mass formidable alike from its numbers and resolution, defied the advance of the conqueror. Here invasion reached its limits. Germanicus indeed led his legions steadily to the foot of the well-manned lines. He made skilful dispositions for attacking them. He forced the mound, entered the narrow area within which the Germans were thronged densely together, with a morass behind, and incapable of retreat. The struggle was furious and bloody: every thing was against the Germans; the closeness of the combat, in which their long swords and even their unwieldy frames were a disadvantage; the recollection of their late defeat; and the consciousness that their last stronghold was stormed before their faces. Even Arminius had lost his gallant spirit; broken by repeated defeats or the wounds he had sustained, he was less decided in his orders and less conspicuous in the medley. Never, on the other hand, did Germanicus more strenuously exert himself. He strove to carry with his own hand the victory his dispositions had brought within his grasp. Throwing his helmet from his head, that no Roman might fail to recognise him, he adjured his soldiers, in the midst of their ranks, to redouble blow on blow, and give no quarter: this, he cried, was no day for making captives, but for utterly destroying the German nation. Multitudes of the barbarians were slain, while the invaders acknowledged but a trifling loss. Nevertheless the legions, we are told, were recalled from the scene of slaughter to their camp for the night, while we hear nothing of the rout or retirement of the enemy. It is

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admitted that the engagement of the cavalry in another quarter was indecisive. No song of triumph arose on the dispersion of the great German confederacy, at the abandonment of their country, or their retreat behind the Elbe; there is no word of their suing for peace or pardon. If Germanicus erected yet another trophy, and emblazoned it with a flaunting inscription, proclaiming that he had subdued all the nations between the Rhine and Elbe, the historian of his exploits himself confesses that the boast was vain and presumptuous. Of all the native tribes the Angrivarii alone offered to capitulate; but the humility of their submission appeased, it is said, the vengeance of the conqueror, and he was willing to accept it as a national acknowledgment of defeat.[1]

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Nor was it from any anxiety about his homeward return that Germanicus acquiesced so easily in this pretended pacification. The second month of summer saw his legions withdraw from their advanced posts in the country of the Cherusci, and retire, some by land, but a large force on board the numerous flotilla which had wafted them to the mouth of the Ems.[2] The vessels were assailed by severe gales, and once more suffered terribly from the violence of the winds and waves, though we may suspect that the fears of the timid mariners considerably magnified the loss and danger. These disasters, however, sufficed to raise the Germans again in arms, so little had they been dispirited by

Return of Germanicus again unprosperous.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 19—22.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 23.: Adulta jam æstate: thus explained by Servius on Virg. *Ecl.* x. 74.; *Georg.* i. 43.

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the dubious successes of the recent invasion. Germanicus, always prompt and active, however questionable we may think his skill in conducting, or forethought in planning, his expeditions, collected his troops without delay, and by a rapid and furious incursion into the territories of the Marsi and Chatti, checked at least the contagion of their revolt. The recovery of the last of the Varian eagles shed a final gleam of glory over the enterprises of Rome in this quarter. Once more the legions were led back to their winter stations. The young Cæsar was assured that the enemy had never felt such consternation and despair, as when they found him prepared to take the field at the moment when his fleet was lying wrecked upon their shores. Never were they so much disposed to entertain counsels of submission, as during the winter that followed. One more campaign, he was convinced, would complete the conquest of the North. But while meditating on his future triumphs, he was admonished by many letters from Tiberius, that it was time to abandon the projects which had reaped in fact nothing but annually recurring disappointments. It was time, the emperor suggested, to change the policy which had hitherto reigned in the Roman quarters, and relinquishing the employment of military force, which had been attended with grave losses both by sea and land, trust to the surer and safer method of engaging the enemy in domestic dissensions. Closely as the German confederates had been bound together under the pressure of foreign aggression, seeds of disunion were still rife among

Recovery of the last of the Varian eagles.

them, and the policy of intrigue, ever patient and watchful, could hardly fail in the end to undermine the nationality of the barbarians. If further laurels, he added, were yet to be gained by arms, it was fair to leave the harvest to be gleaned by the stripling Drusus, for whose maiden sword no other foe but the Germans was left.[1]

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The reasoning of Tiberius was specious, and the course he suggested required only vigilance and perseverance to be completely successful. But in laying down a line of traditionary policy, which might demand the care of many years, and of more than one or two generations to effect it, he could give no pledge either of his own or his successors' persistence in it. In fact, the central government ceased from this time forward to take any warm interest in the subjugation of the Germans; and the dissensions of their states and princes, which peace was not slow in developing, attracted no Roman emissaries to the barbarian camps, and rarely led the legions beyond the frontier, which was now allowed to recede finally

The frontiers of the empire finally bounded by the Rhine.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 26. Suetonius (*Tib.* 52.) adds that Tiberius was generally reputed to have disparaged the *glorious successes* of Germanicus, as prejudicial to the public interests. It is vexatious, however, to observe how little reliance we can place on the panegyric of Tacitus. His story of the last campaign bears strong features of romance. The interview of the German brothers is an heroic episode. It is not usual with ordinary mortals to converse across a stream an hundred yards in width. The night watch of Germanicus, though not in itself improbable, is suspiciously in unison with the epic colour of the general narrative; and the splendid victories ascribed to him are evidently belied by the results. The account of the shipwreck of the flotilla is a clang of turgid extravagances, amplified perhaps from the statement which Pliny may have founded, with little discrimination, upon the fears and fancies of the survivors.

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to the Rhine.[1] The conquests indeed of Germanicus had been merely visionary: the language of the historian Tacitus is equally extravagant both in vaunting his triumphs, and in blazoning his disasters; and the almost total silence of Dion, a far more sober authority, upon the exploits of the youthful hero, stamps his campaigns with merited insignificance. Nevertheless there seems no reason to doubt that the discipline of the legions, and the conduct of their officers, even without the mighty genius of a Sulla or a Cæsar at their head, must gradually have broken down the resistance of the northern freemen, and that but little more of toil and patience was wanting to make the Elbe the permanent frontier of the conquests of Italy. This accession of territory would have materially abridged the long line of the national defences, and the garrisons of the Elbe and Danube might have afforded each other mutual support in the peril of a barbarian invasion. It is not impossible that the result of one or two more campaigns at this critical moment might have delayed for a hundred years the eventual overthrow of the Roman Empire. It would be too much to say that the failure of such a result is to be regretted; nor can we venture to lament, for the sake of the Germans themselves, that they were not at this period reduced to a state of subjection to a power of higher and finer organization than their own. But while the gallantry with which the Germans de-

[1] We shall trace at a later period some further advances of the empire between the upper Rhine and Danube.

fended their savage homes must always excite our admiration, while we applaud their courage and self-devotion, and thrill at the echoes of their shouts of defiance and songs of triumph, it will be well to guard ourselves against an unreflecting sympathy with that misnamed liberty for which they so bravely contended. The liberty of the Germans was at best only the licence of a few chiefs and warriors, backed by a dark and perhaps a bloody superstition, in which the mass of the people, the bravest and least corrupted part of the nation, had no genuine share.[1] Notwithstanding the false colours he has aimed at throwing over it, the picture of Teutonic freedom which Tacitus gives us is gloomy and revolting, with its solitary caves or wigwams in the forest, its sexes undistinguished in dress, its women, cared for indeed, but not for their charms or virtues, but as beasts of burden and implements of labour. That it was powerless to effect any progress, or to rise of itself to a higher sphere of civilization, appears from the continued barbarism of the four succeeding centuries, during which it roamed its forests unassailed by Rome, and constrained by no foreign

[1] Tacitus, in his curious but fanciful picture of Teutonic life and manners, would make it appear that the whole body of freemen were equal and independent; but this is contrary to all experience, and is opposed to the usage of client or retainership, which seems to have been common in Germany as well as in Gaul. The slaves of the Germans, as our author himself remarks (*German.* 25.), were not domestic like the Roman, but attached to the soil. They were in fact not slaves, but serfs, and as such we may be assured that they bore arms in their lords' following. The German polity was probably no other than clanship, under which a system of the grossest tyranny is upheld by a perverted sentiment of honour.

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pressure. The instincts of Order and Devotion, which distinguished the northern conquerors of Europe, lay undeveloped in the germ, till, in the course of Providence, they met the forms of Law and of Religion which they were destined so happily to impregnate. As with their own lusty youths, to whom the commerce of the sexes was forbidden till they had reached the fulness of manly vigour, the long celibate of German intelligence may seem designed by a superior Wisdom to crown it with inexhaustible fertility.[1]

Germanicus is recalled to Rome.

The offer of the consulship, which the emperor now tendered to his nephew, was equivalent to a command to abandon the camp; and Germanicus was compelled, with sore reluctance, to relinquish his visions of immortal glory for the empty pageant of municipal honours. It was natural that he should see, in this sudden abridgment of his triumphs, not the prudence but the jealousy of his chief; and such unquestionably was the general view of the army, delighted with his liberality and condescension, and of the people, not unwilling to form the most unfavourable judgment on the acts of a ruler so destitute of the genial graces which captivate an unreflecting populace. Yet it cannot in fairness be imputed as a crime to the emperor, if he desired to break the connexion between his kinsman and the distant legions of the Rhine, which had already expressed their readiness to carry him to Rome and place him on the throne of the Cæsars. Germanicus, with the generosity

[1] Tac. *German.* 20.: Sera juvenum Venus, coque inexhausta pubertas.

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and perhaps carelessness which belonged to his character, had given some ground of umbrage by offering largesses to the soldiers from his own resources, such as, under a monarchical regime, can only proceed safely from the monarch himself; and Tiberius merely followed the policy of his predecessor in allowing no more than two or three successive campaigns to the same leader, beneath the same eagles, and in the same quarter of the empire.

Triumph of Germanicus. A.D. 17. A.U. 770.

With the close of the year 769, Germanicus quitted the scene of his high-spirited efforts, being summoned to celebrate the triumph which was offered him in lieu of victory.[1] Of this flattering distinction, indeed, the emperor took to himself the lion's share. The triumphal arch, which was erected on the slope of the Capitoline hill, was designated by the name, not of Germanicus, but of Tiberius.[2] The chief glories which it signalized were the recovery of the Varian standards, which furnished the legend of its commemorative medals, as the restoration of the eagles of Crassus had served in the last generation.[3] As the young hero approached the city, the populace, full of enthusiasm,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 41.: Bellumque, quia conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto habebatur.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Fine anni arcus propter ædem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa, ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii .... dicatur. This arch of Tiberius, as it is called, but I know not on what precise authority, stood on the slope of the Clivus Capitolinus. Dezobry supposes that it was small and plain, from its having apparently been erected and dedicated in the course of one year. Another arch of Tiberius was erected by the Emperor Claudius near the theatre of Pompeius. Suet. *Claud.* 11.

[3] See Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vi. 209.: Signis receptis devictis Germanis. Tiberius took the title of Germanicus (Dion, lvii. 8.), but refused that of Pater Patriæ. Tac. *Ann.* i. 72.

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poured forth from the gates to meet him as far as the twentieth milestone; and the ardour of the prætorians, the special corps of the emperor himself, was not less conspicuous than if they had served under his colours or partaken of his benefactions.[1] The triumph was solemnized on the 26th of May; the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Angrivarii, and generally the nations between the Rhine and Elbe, were specified as the vanquished enemy.[2] Captives were forthcoming, of noble birth and distinction among their people, to adorn the ceremony; and it was without remorse, without even compassion, that the Romans beheld Thusnelda, the betrayed wife of Arminius, led before them, with the infant child whom she had born in servitude and sorrow.[3] The spoils of war were also exhibited, and the mountains and rivers of Germany, together with the battles themselves, were represented in pictures or emblematically designated. But the citizens gazed at none of these shows so intently as at the figure of the young imperator himself, conspicuous for the manly graces of his person, and surrounded in his chariot by the five male descendants of his fruitful union with Agrippina. Surely there was no room, behind so well-plenished an equipage, for the slave who attended the happiest of heroes in the moment of his crowning felicity, and whispered in his ear that he was only mortal! Yet the spectators at least required no such grisly

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 4.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 41.: C. Cæcilio, L. Pomponio, coss., Germanicus Cæsar, A.D. vii. Kal. Junias, triumphavit de Cheruscis, Chattisque, et Angrivariis.

[3] Strabo (vii. p. 291.), who gives the child the name of Thumelicus.

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memento. In the midst of their brilliant jubilee they were smitten with a painful misgiving: they remembered how their affection for the father, Drusus, had been blighted by sudden disappointment, how Marcellus, the uncle, had been snatched away in the glow of his youthful popularity: *brief and ill-starred*, they murmured to themselves, *were the loves of the Roman people.*[1]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 41.: Breves et infaustos populi Romani amores. The list of early bereavements of the same class might be enlarged with the names of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and even of Agrippa Postumus; but I do not venture to step beyond the lines traced by Tacitus, and attach to any of these the same painful reminiscences he has specified in the case of the others.

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MISSION OF GERMANICUS TO THE EAST, AND OF DRUSUS TO ILLYRICUM. — RETIREMENT OF MAROBODUUS, AND DEATH OF ARMINIUS. — GERMANICUS JOURNEYS THROUGH GREECE AND ASIA MINOR. — INTRIGUES OF PISO AND PLANCINA AGAINST HIM. — HE SETTLES THE AFFAIRS OF ARMENIA, AND VISITS EGYPT. — HIS SICKNESS AND DEATH IMPUTED TO PISO. — GRIEF OF THE CITIZENS. — PISO ATTEMPTS TO SEIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF SYRIA. — IS BAFFLED AND SENT TO ROME. — THE FRIENDS OF GERMANICUS ACCUSE HIM BEFORE THE SENATE. — HIS DEFENCE, SUICIDE, AND CONDEMNATION. — TIBERIUS FREE FROM SUSPICION OF THE MURDER OF GERMANICUS. — IMPOSTURE OF CLEMENS. — INTRIGUES OF LIBO DRUSUS. — DETERIORATION IN THE CONDUCT OF TIBERIUS. — INFLUENCE OF LIVIA OVER HIM, AND OF SEJANUS. (A.U. 770—773., A.D. 17—20.)

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A.D. 17. A.U. 770. Mission of Germanicus to the East.

THE cloud which hung upon the countenance of the Roman people was dispelled by an act of opportune liberality. Tiberius now stepped forward in the name of his adopted son to bestow upon the citizens a largess of three hundred sesterces apiece, and they hailed with acclamations the announcement that the senate, at his desire, had chosen their favourite for the consulship of the ensuing year. It was considered as a special mark of honour that the emperor condescended to accept the same office in conjunction with him. But ere the period for his entering upon it had arrived, a new duty had been found for him to discharge. The affairs of the East required to be set in order.

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The demise of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, who had lately died at Rome of distress and apprehension, under a criminal charge preferred against him in the senate, had offered an opportunity for incorporating that country with the empire, and its ample revenues had enabled Tiberius to reduce by one half the tax of an hundredth on sales.[1] It remained to complete the organization of this new acquisition in the form of a province. At the same time the people of Commagene, and the still autonomous districts of Cilicia, were declared to desire, on the death which had just occurred of their native princes, to be subjected to the direct dominion of the Romans, while the provincials of Judæa and Syria, on their part, were exclaiming against the weight of the imperial burdens, and entreating to be partially relieved from them.[2] Nor was the peace which had reigned between Rome and Parthia since the interview of their chiefs on the Euphrates in a secure and satisfactory state. After more than one bloody court-revolution, Vonones, a son of the great Phraates, whom Augustus had retained as a hostage, perhaps at his jealous father's desire, and had bred in Roman manners, had been called to the throne by the voice of his countrymen, and placed there with the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42.: Fructibus ejus levari posse centesimæ vectigal professus, ducentesimam in posterum statuit. But Cappadocia was proverbially a poor country: Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex: perhaps some treasures were found accumulated in the royal strongholds.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Provinciæ Syria atque Judæa, fessæ oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant. For the annexation of Judea on the banishment of Archelaus, see above, chap. xxxviii. vol. iv. p. 314.

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consent of the imperial government. But his subjects soon manifested disgust at the foreign habits of their new ruler, and ventured to discard him. He took refuge, it appears, not among his old friends the Romans, but in the kindred country of Armenia, which not only offered him an asylum, but, in the vacancy of its own throne then existing, accepted him precipitately as its sovereign. Hereupon Artabanus, chief of the neighbouring kingdom of Media, but himself a descendant of the royal race of the Arsacidæ, whom the Parthians had invited to bear rule over them, required the Armenians to surrender the fugitive into his hands; but Silanus, the proconsul of Syria, had received instructions to anticipate this result, and had succeeded in getting possession of his person by artifice, to be retained in custody within the Roman frontiers, and employed on some future occasion. The Parthians were indignant at the loss of their victim, the Armenians mortified at the insult put upon the object of their choice; but Silanus was directed to amuse and negotiate with both powers, and avoid by all the arts of diplomacy the consequences of an open rupture.[1] Meanwhile Tiberius might hope that the mission of a chief of higher name and authority, attended by an imposing force, and surrounded with the pomp of imperial dignity, would awe, as on former occasions, the murmurs of his rivals into silence. Resolved not to abandon himself the helm of government at Rome, and regarding his own son

[1] For the affairs of Parthia and Armenia in detail, see Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1—4.

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Drusus too young and inexperienced for the arduous office, he made choice of Germanicus to represent the majesty of the empire in the East. For this purpose he placed him in the same position as Agrippa had held under Augustus, and required the senate to confirm by a decree his appointment to an extraordinary command over the provinces beyond the Hellespont, with full powers for making war or arranging the terms of peace, for annexing provinces, enfranchising cities, and modifying their burdens. Tiberius would allow no delay. The young Cæsar was directed to cross the sea the same autumn, and the consulship, which he had been summoned from Germany to hold, he was permitted to retain in Asia.[1]

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Drusus at the same time sent to Illyricum.

In the course of the same year Drusus was sent into Illyricum, with directions to watch the movements of the Germans on their southern frontier.[2] Of the two princes Drusus was supposed to be the emperor's favourite, and such, as his own child in blood and the child of his cherished Vipsania, he might naturally be. But the citizens immediately threw themselves on the opposite side, and showered all their affection on Germanicus, whose character was accordingly made to shine in popular narratives in contrast with that of his less fortunate cousin. A reason for this preference they discovered in the fact of his higher maternal

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii 43.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 44.: Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut suesceret militiæ, studiaque exercitus pararet: simul juvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius, seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio legiones obtinente. Sed Suevi prætendebantur ....

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descent, for Germanicus was the son of an Antonia; while the mother of Drusus was a Vipsania only, and his grandsire, Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, was a simple knight.[1] But the cousins, or brothers as they were legally styled, were unconscious of these jealousies, or at least unaffected by them. Whatever dissimilarity there may have been in their tempers, they lived in mutual amity. Tiberius was anxious that Drusus should emulate the elder prince in the career of public toils and honours. He was glad to remove him from the dissipations of the capital; he was desirous also of completing his military training: it was surmised by some that he felt more secure in his own elevation above the laws when each of his children stood at the head of one of the chief armies of the republic. But the state of affairs on the Danubian frontier undoubtedly required the presence of a commander on whose loyalty and zeal the emperor could place full reliance, and the mission both of Germanicus and Drusus seems to have been dictated by a legitimate policy.

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War between the Marcomanni and the Cherusci. A.D. 17—19 A.U. 770—772.

The withdrawal of the Roman forces from the soil of Germany had restored peace to the northern half of that country; but no sooner were Arminius and his Cheruscan warriors relieved from the annual aggressions of the Roman invader, than they turned their arms upon their own brethren, the Suevi in the south. The kingdom of Maroboduus, which he professed to rule after the fashion he had learnt in the city of the universal conquerors, gave umbrage to the national spirit of the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 43.

yet untamed barbarians. Even among his own subjects there were many who viewed his innovations with disgust. On the first onset of the Cherusci, the Semnones and Langobardi, who were numbered among the Suevic tribes, went over to them; and this defection was only partially balanced by the caprice of Inguiomerus, the bravest of the northern patriots, who, with a band of clients and retainers, attached himself to the service of Marboduus. Nor indeed had the Cherusci been so long confronted with the Roman legions without acquiring some knowledge of their tactics. When the two native armies met in the field they were found to be armed and marshalled alike, after the fashion of the masters of the art of war. Each of the rivals could vaunt that they had learnt to baffle the terrible Romans with their own weapons: the Cherusci could point to the spoils they had wrested from Varus; the Marcomanni could boast that they had kept Tiberius himself at bay, and sent him back unlaurelled across the Danube. The battle which now ensued between them resulted in the defeat of the king of the Marcomanni; and upon this, many of the tribes he had enlisted under his standards passed over to the other side: when he could no longer make head against the triumphant Arminius, he prostrated himself before the emperor and implored his succour. Tiberius replied that he had no right to look for assistance from the power from which he had withheld aid himself in its contest with the Cherusci: nevertheless the Romans were magnanimous as well as powerful, and would not refuse

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to interfere to save their new client from destruction. It was under these circumstances that Drusus was despatched to the Danube, with directions ostensibly to conclude terms with his conqueror for him: but he received, it would seem, more private instructions, to exasperate fresh enemies against him, and secretly effect his ruin from another quarter.[1] Shielded from the violence of Arminius, the king of the Marcomanni was overthrown by the intrigues of Catualda, a chief of the Gothones, who had suffered some injury at his hands. Driven across the Danube, Maroboduus addressed a letter to Tiberius, in which he solicited an asylum within the Roman territories, and his request was granted with cold civility. Retained in honourable confinement at Ravenna, he was constantly amused with the hope of being restored to his high eminence by the Roman armies: but the expected moment never came, and after lingering in suspense and disappointment through a period of eighteen years, he died at last an object of scarcely merited contempt to the few who yet remembered that he had been a king and the founder of a kingdom.[2]

Maroboduus seeks shelter within the Roman dominions.

Death of Arminius. A. D. 21. A. U. 774.

The success of the crafty measures of Tiberius against German liberty was further exemplified in the offer which he is stated to have received at this period from a chief of the Chatti named Adgandestrius, to effect the removal of Arminius by secret artifice; for which purpose he demanded

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 44—46.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 63. The confinement of Maroboduus dated from the year 772.

some subtle poison, such as the Romans were but too skilful in preparing, but were unknown to the more simple barbarians. This nefarious proposal was recited, it is said, to the assembled senators by the emperor's command, for the sake of his generous reply: their fathers, he reminded them, had forbidden the employment of poison against Pyrrhus, for the Romans were wont to avenge themselves on their enemies, not by secret machinations, but openly and with arms.[1] But the empire, in fact, had now no more to fear from the influence of its ancient antagonist; for Arminius, the bulwark of German independence, degenerated in the hour of his triumph from the virtues of a patriot chief, and himself affected the tyranny over his countrymen which he had baffled in Germanicus, and rebuked in Maroboduus. His people retorted upon him the lessons of freedom with which he had inspired them, and after a struggle of some length and many vicissitudes, he was slain by the treachery of his own associates. The liberator of Germany had achieved victory over the Romans, not in their youth and weakness, like Pontius or Porsena, but at the period of their highest power and most varied resources. His life was extended through thirty-seven years only, during twelve of which he had enjoyed the chief authority over his countrymen: his name, though of dubious reputation at its close, continued long to be chanted

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 88. See, for the generosity of Fabricius, Plutarch *in Pyrrh.* 12.; Cic. *de Off.* iii. 22.; Val. Max. vi. 5. 1. and other writers.

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among them as the watchword of chivalry and glory: but to the Greeks, whose view was limited to the world of Hellas, the fame of the German hero remained unknown; and even the Romans themselves disregarded it in comparison with more ancient celebrities, till Tacitus rescued it from obscurity, and poured upon it the full flood of his brilliant eloquence.[1]

Career of Tacfarinas in Africa.

The military operations which occurred at the same period on the southern frontier of the empire were of little political importance. While the African provinces were numbered among the most opulent of its possessions, they were, from the character of the country, exempt from the terrors of barbarian warfare, by which so many other districts were constantly harassed or alarmed. The skirts of the long chain of the Atlas indeed, which approached generally very near to the sea coast, always harboured tribes of unsubdued and predatory barbarians; but the strength of the African hordes was so feeble, their means and resources so limited, that their warfare was rather that of banditti than of hostile nations. It was only when marshalled by a chief of Roman origin or training that they could become formidable either from their skill in war or their powers of combination. Thus in the wars of the first Cæsar, a knight named Sittius had placed himself at the head of a disciplined force, with

[1] Tac. *Ann.* l. c. If the twelve years of his authority are counted from the defeat of Varus (762), his death would take place in 774. Tacitus does not mark the date very distinctly. Dion only once mentions the name of Arminius, in connexion with Varus, and never alludes to him again.

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which he had seemed for a moment to hold the balance between the contending factions of Rome itself. We now read of the exploits of a native warrior named Tacfarinas, who turned the skill and science he had acquired in the Roman camp, as a captain of Numidian auxiliaries, into an instrument of arrogance and insult to the majesty of the united empire.[1] Having deserted from the service of the proconsul, this bold and energetic soldier had gathered round him the bands of roving robbers who infested the mountains, and had divided them into troops and companies. Accepted as their chief by a tribe called the Musulani, he had associated with them the Moorish warriors on their borders, who owned the sway of a leader named Mazippa: while the one body, armed and trained after the manner of the legions, formed the main strength of these confederate forces, the other, following the fashion of the country, skirmished actively on its flanks, and carried fire and sword within sight of the Roman cantonments. The contagion of disaffection was spreading among the subject nations of the province itself, when the proconsul Furius Camillus advanced with the forces under his command to repress it by a decisive blow. The defence of the peaceful province had been entrusted to a single legion with its auxiliary cohorts, and this little army well handled was sufficient to overcome all resistance in the field. Tacfarinas, confident in the tactics he had learnt from his late masters, ventured to give

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 52.

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battle, and suffered a speedy defeat. The proconsul claimed the honours of a conqueror; and Tiberius, it was surmised, was the more willing to grant them on account of the obscurity of his name, which, high as it once stood in the fasti of the republic, had been illustrated by no civil or military distinctions since the almost forgotten days of the great dictators.[1] Camillus himself had had no previous experience in arms; nor was he now elated with success, or tempted, as the chastiser of a horde of savages, to believe himself a mighty general. He was not indeed aware of the fact, proved speedily by the event, that his success was illusory and indecisive.

A.D. 18. A. U. 771. Tiberius III., Germanicus II., consuls.

Meanwhile Germanicus, after passing but a few months in Rome, had departed by Ancona and the Dalmatian coast, where he had had an interview with Drusus, to assume his ample powers in the East. By the first day of the new year, the commencement of his consulship, he had arrived at Nicopolis, the city founded by Augustus on the shores of the Ambracian Gulf. The descendant in blood of Antonius, and in law of Octavius, might behold with feelings strangely mingled the scene of a battle so fortunate, and at the same time so fatal, to his race.[2] From thence he shaped his course through Athens, where he recommended

[1] Tac. l. c.: Nam post reciperatorem Urbis, filiumque ejus Camillum, penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 53.: Sacratas ab Augusto manubias (the beaks suspended in the temple of Apollo) castraque Antonii, cum recordatione majorum suorum adiit: namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erat, magnaque illis imago tristium lætorumque.

himself to the citizens by his studied moderation, in dismissing all his attendant lictors but one; and received in return the highest compliments the Athenians could confer, which consisted, it would seem, in an elaborate panegyric on their own greatness.[1] From Athens he crossed to Eubœa, and thence to Lesbos, in the usual track, perhaps, of the Roman proconsuls. From Lesbos, however, he took a wider sweep, visiting the Propontis and the cities on both its shores, and entering the Euxine Sea, partly to gratify his interest in scenes of historic celebrity, partly to console and encourage by his presence the places which had suffered most severely from the vicissitudes of the wars and the oppressions of unjust rulers.[2] Only the year before no less than twelve cities of the interior had been overthrown or damaged by a destructive earthquake: but steps had been already taken through a special commission of inquiry, and by the prompt remission of several years' tribute, to repair the effects of this extraordinary visitation.[3] Germanicus does not seem to have made it part of his business to visit the sufferers. His travels were prompted perhaps chiefly by curiosity of a more or less enlightened character. Thus, for instance, he

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[1] Tac. l. c.: Excepere Græci quæsitissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque præferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio haberet.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 54.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47.: Eodem anno (770) duodecim celebres Asiæ urbes conlapsæ nocturno motu terræ .... mittique ex Senatu placuit qui præsentia spectaret refoveretque. A prætorian senator was sent to obviate any jealousy on the part of the consular governor of the province. It is just possible that this might be the reason why Germanicus omitted to visit the injured cities.

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steered for the coast of Samothracia, in order to be admitted to the mysterious rites of the Cabiric priesthood, but could not reach it from adverse winds. He landed, however, on the shore of Ilium, again skirted the coast of Asia, and consulted the oracle of Apollo at Claros, where the priest who revealed the answer of the divinity is said to have given him an intimation of the early death which awaited him.

Piso Cnæus Calpurnius appointed proconsul of Syria.

The interests which Germanicus thus appears to have indulged were scarcely worthy, perhaps, of the prince to whom public affairs of so much importance were entrusted, at a moment when every step he took was watched, he must have been well aware, with jealous scrutiny, not only by the emperor, but by at least one powerful rival among the nobles of Rome.[1] It is possible, indeed, that the innocent character of a traveller and a sight-seer was purposely adopted to disarm suspicion: but in fact a wiser man than the young Cæsar would have felt that he was more concerned to guard himself by vigorous and decisive movements

[1] Tacitus notices the antiquarian spirit of the Greeks rather contemptuously. *Hist.* ii. 4.: Spectata opulentia donisque regum, quæque alia lætum antiquitatibus Græcorum genus incertæ vetustati affigit. But the Roman nobles showed their Hellenic culture by affecting a similar taste; thus Cæsar, the Cæsar at least of Lucan, spent a day in visiting the plain of Troy, under the guidance of a native cicerone: Herceas, *monstrator* ait, non respicis aras? *Phars.* ix. 979. Comp. viii. 851.: Nam quis ad exustam Cancro torrente Syenem Ibit, et imbrifera siccas sub Pleiade Thebas, Spectator Nili? and the whole spirit of the description of the Nile in the tenth book. See also the address to Celer in Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 2. 197.:

Te præside noscat
Unde paludosi fœcunda licentia Nili . . . .
Duc et ad Æmathios Manes ubi belliger urbis
Conditor Hyblæo perfusus nectare durat . . . .

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against the intrigues of a fellow-subject than the distrust of their ruler. On appointing his nephew to the chief command in the provinces beyond the Ægean, Tiberius had taken the precaution, for so his conduct was interpreted, of removing from the government of Syria his connexion Creticus Silanus, and placing there a man whose pride and personal pretensions might make him a ready instrument for controlling his chief's ambition.[1] Cnæus Piso, on whom this appointment was conferred, was a member of the illustrious Calpurnian Gens, which claimed as high an antiquity as any of the oldest families of Rome, and had continued, at least in the last century of the republic, to fill the chief offices of the state. The surname of Piso was common to more than one branch of this noble house, and the prænomen Cnæus had descended to the personage now before us from a father who had fought through the wars of Cæsar and Pompeius from Pharsalia to Thapsus, had shared the disasters of Cassius and Brutus, and though pardoned by Octavius, had disdained to solicit employment under the new institutions.[2] It was only when spontaneously offered to him by the emperor that he deigned to accept the consulship. Cnæus Piso, the son, was reputed a proud

Pride of the Calpurnian Gens, and antagonism to the Cæsarean family.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 43. The connexion consisted in the betrothal of a daughter of Silanus to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, then a mere child. The marriage seems never to have taken place.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* l. c.; Comp. Smith's *Dict. of Class. Biography*, art. Piso, nos. 22, 23. There were also two Cnæus Pisos before the last-mentioned, one quæstor to Pompeius in the Piratic War, the other the associate of Catilina, murdered in Spain. It is not clear from which of these the Pisos in the text descended.

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man among the proudest of sets, the nobles of the expiring free state and the rising empire of Rome; a class whose intense self-assertion was fostered and inflamed by family names, family rites, family images and ensigns. The rapid decline of their numbers after the slaughter of the Sullan wars had imparted still greater concentration to this feeling; and claiming complete equality among themselves, they hesitated or refused to acknowledge a superior even in the emperor himself. To an Æmilius or a Calpurnius, a Lepidus or a Piso, the son of an Octavius was still no more than a plebeian imperator, raised to power by a turbulent commonalty; a breath, they felt, had made him, and a breath, they fondly believed, might yet overthrow him. Whether as an emperor or a private senator, whatever might be his actual powers, his pretensions to legitimate right they haughtily despised and repudiated. They had marked, no doubt with peculiar jealousy, the alliance of the plebeian Octavius with one of their own houses, the Claudian, the nobility of which it was impossible to gainsay: but this served only to convert into jealousy their lofty disdain, and to impel them into a state of antagonism or rivalry, from which they had before held contemptuously aloof. When once invited to compare themselves with their ruler, it was easy to persuade them that each had individually a claim to empire, to the full as good as the man whom fortune had placed in the ascendant over them. Piso deemed himself the natural equal of Tiberius, or if he had any misgivings of his own, his consort Plancina, the daughter, it is believed, of Munatius Plancus,

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A.D. 18. A.U. 771. Plancina, wife of Piso, a favourite of Livia.

the chief who for a moment had trimmed the scales between the armed factions of the republic, was of a temper to dispel or overrule them. This imperious woman had formed, moreover, a personal intimacy with the empress-mother, in whose plans for prolonging the tutelage of Tiberius she had probably borne a part. She had learnt to despise the son in the cabinet of the mother. Still more did the vainglorious pair look contemptuously upon the children of the man for whom they had so little respect himself. Piso believed himself to be appointed to the government of Syria for the purpose of checking the ambitious designs which it was so easy to impute to Germanicus, and Plancina may very probably have been instructed by Livia to set up herself as a rival to Agrippina; for the people, at least, were easily persuaded that the imperial house was already a prey to domestic jealousies. Conscious of their own preference for Germanicus, they were not less convinced of the partiality of Tiberius for Drusus, and they were persuaded that the fertility of Agrippina, the consort of the one, must be a source of mortification and dislike, when contrasted with the barrenness of Livilla, the wife of the other.[1]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 43. The name Livilla, the diminutive of Livia, was used frequently to distinguish the wife of Drusus from the empress mother. Livilla was a daughter of the elder Drusus, and sister of Germanicus, married first to Caius Cæsar in very early youth, and, on his decease, to the son of Tiberius, her cousin. She may have had one daughter Julia, afterwards united to Nero Drusus and Rubellius Blandus, in the first ten years of her second marriage: but it was not till 772 that she bore a son, one of twins, named Tiberius Gemellus. See *Ann.* ii. 84.

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A. D. 18. A. U. 771. Conduct of Piso in Syria.

The mission which Piso seems to have considered as covertly confided to him, that of thwarting his superior, and bringing his authority into contempt, he began to discharge with zeal, and even precipitate vehemence, from the moment he quitted the shores of Italy. Following Germanicus to Athens, he reflected indirectly on his unseemly derogation, as he represented it, from the majesty of the ruling people, in paying his tribute of courteous admiration to the monuments of the city of Minerva. The prince, though not uninformed of this insolent behaviour, nevertheless treated his subordinate with marked kindness: on one occasion he even saved his life, by sending him the assistance of some galleys when he was in danger from a storm at sea, and his death, if he had been overwhelmed in the waters, might have fairly been ascribed to accident. From Rhodes, where they met for the first time, Piso proceeded direct to the eastern provinces, while his chief still lingered on his route; and as soon as he reached Syria and the quarters of the legions, began without delay to develop a course of conduct which seems to point, not so much to a studied hostility to Germanicus, as to a rash and crude design of seizing supreme power for himself. Not only did he adopt every method of corruption, to make himself a party among the officers and soldiers; he went so far as to dismiss both centurions and tribunes of his own authority, and to remodel the command of the troops to suit his own purposes.[1] The men,

[1] The exact position of Piso towards Germanicus, which seems to

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debauched already by the general relaxation of discipline, seem to have been easily won over; and even the provincials, unconscious, it would appear, of the true duties of a Roman imperator, applauded his indecent indulgence, and entitled him the Father of the Legions.[1] In these artful proceedings he was warmly seconded by Plancina, who courted the soldiers by appearing at their reviews and exercises, a practice which the Romans disapproved of as unfeminine; and the rumour was industriously spread that the conduct of her husband, and her own constant abuse of Germanicus and Agrippina, were not displeasing to the emperor himself.

Germanicus leaves it unnoticed, and devotes himself to affairs.

Strange indeed it must appear, if these proceedings have been truly reported, and if, as we are assured, Germanicus was made fully acquainted with them, that he should have postponed their repression to any other object of his mission whatever. It was impossible that such conduct could have

have allowed him considerable, but ill-defined authority, is marked by the term *adjutor* applied to him by Tiberius at a later period, *Ann.* iii. 12. It will be remembered that when the young Caius Cæsar was sent by his grandfather Augustus to compose the affairs of the East, a *rector* was provided him, to advise or even, inexperienced as he was, to direct his public measures. His first *rector* was Quirinius (*Ann.* iii. 48.), who, as A. Zumpt has shown in his *Comment. Epigraph.* ii., was probably proconsul of Syria at the time of his arrival. The appointment of Piso seems to have been meant as an imitation of the policy of Augustus. In the proconsul of Syria Germanicus received not a *rector*, but, as an older man, an *adjutor* only, whose duties were less clearly defined: there is no reason to suppose that Tiberius had any sinister view in giving him this honorary assistant.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 55.: Ut sermone vulgi Parens Legionum haberetur. It is not clear perhaps whether the writer means by *vulgus* the generality of the provincials, or the rank and file of the army itself.

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any other result, whatever might be the feeling which originally prompted it, than military insubordination, and discord in camp and council; and it is difficult to conceive that the vicegerent of the emperor could have any other duty so urgent as that of crushing the first germs of civil commotion. Germanicus, however, was advised otherwise. The settlement of the relations of the empire with Armenia was the direct object of his mission, and to this he calmly devoted his undivided attention. In order to give full weight to the terms he was instructed to impose, he marched in person within the Armenian frontiers at the head of his military forces. Instead, however, of restoring the fugitive Vonones, who was still retained in custody in Syria, to the throne from which the jealousy of the Parthians had ejected him, he affected to consult the wishes now expressed by the capricious Armenians themselves, in appointing in his room a son of Polemo, king of Pontus, a prince named Zeno, whose early training in their own customs gave him a nearer claim to their regard. In the royal city of Artaxata, and surrounded by a concourse of the native nobility, the Roman Cæsar placed the diadem upon his destined vassal's head, saluting him in the name of his new subjects with the name, or rather the title, of Artaxias, which signifies greatness or sovereignty. To the envoys of Artabanus, who professed an ardent wish to cultivate the friendship of Rome, and begged for their chief the honour of a personal interview on the Euphrates, he replied with the dignity which befitted his position, and the modesty, at the same

He crowns Polemo with the diadem of Armenia.

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time, which was peculiar to himself. He assented, moreover, to the request of the Parthians that he would at least remove Vonones further from the frontier, and assigned him a residence at Pompeiopolis, on the Cilician coast. Vonones, it seems, had been making interest with Piso and Plancina, and built on their influence his hopes of returning in triumph to Armenia or even to Parthia. It was surmised that the ease with which Germanicus yielded on this point to the desires of Artabanus was partly owing to the hostile relations subsisting between himself and the Syrian proconsul. Piso had offended him, as an imperator, beyond forgiveness in disobeying his commands respecting the movement of troops, and the meeting between them, which took place at their winter quarters at Cyrrhus, had been marked by coldness on the one side, and defiance hardly disguised on the other. Piso had taken upon himself to check the customary adulation of an eastern prince, who had offered Germanicus a crown of gold, of much greater weight than that he tendered to his subordinate, rejecting the present to himself with pretended indignation, and exclaiming that the compliments addressed to his superior befitted the son, not of a Roman prince, but of a Parthian tyrant.[1]

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Germanicus visits Egypt. A.D. 19. A.U. 772.

The formal reduction, already proclaimed, of Commagene and Cappadocia, to the condition of provinces, completed the work of the year. In the following winter Germanicus made a tour in Egypt, with the professed object of examining the state of that province; but his ardour in the study of

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 56—58.

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historical antiquities was in fact, as would appear, a more urgent motive for his journey.[1] His behaviour to the natives there was not less studiously moderate and courteous than usual: he not only appeared among them unattended by his soldiers, and in the peaceful garb of a Greek philosopher, as Scipio had visited Sicily in the heat of the Punic war, but opened the granaries for the cheaper and more abundant supply of grain to them. Tiberius is said to have addressed him with a gentle reproof for a condescension he styled unworthy of his station; but the affairs of Egypt lay beyond the sphere of his mission, and he rebuked him more pointedly for disregard of the principle first established by Augustus, that neither senators nor even knights should enter Egypt at all, except with the special permission of the emperor. While, however, this unfavourable notice of his proceedings was yet unknown to Germanicus, he continued his progress, ascending the Nile from Canopus, visiting the Pyramids and temples on its banks, and listening with awe and wonder to the mysterious music which *breathed from the face* of Memnon.[2] He consulted, moreover, the oracle of the sacred bull Apis, and received, it was said, an ominous response.[3] Nor did he retrace his steps till he had reached Elephantine and Syene, the furthest limits of the empire under Tiberius.[4] The real objects of

[1] The motive which Suetonius alleges, to take measures for the relief of an impending scarcity, is not mentioned by Tacitus, and seems at least superfluous. Suet. *Tib.* 52.; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 60.

[3] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 71.

[4] Tac. ii. 61.: Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii; quod nunc (in the time of Trajan) rubrum ad mare patescit;

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his mission to the East had been already accomplished, and he might continue to amuse his leisure with contemplating the wonders of the land of mystery and fable; but the notice which now reached him of the emperor's displeasure, which he had unwittingly incurred, hastened perhaps his departure from it. The senate indeed, while it listened with silent deference to the murmurs of Tiberius, concurred in the vote of an ovation to his nephew for his successful settlement of the affairs of Armenia, and at the same time to his son for the capture of Maroboduus. The two princes were invited to enter the city in solemn procession together.[1] But Germanicus now shaped his course from Egypt to Syria, where he found that his regulations and appointments had been audaciously overruled by Piso. The warmth to which he was at last excited by this daring insolence seems to have determined the offender to quit the province of his own accord. He had already made preparations for relinquishing his post, when the feeble state of health into which the Cæsar now fell induced him to defer his departure. Presently, however, the young prince seemed to revive, and

Germanicus returns to Syria.

meaning perhaps the Indian Ocean. Syene, the modern Assouan, was supposed to lie under the Tropic of Cancer, a fact which the ancients established from the direct rays of the sun being visible there, as they affirmed, at the summer solstice at the bottom of a well. This phenomenon, however, might be observed at any spot within a quarter of a degree of the actual circle. Mannert. x. i. 322.; Malte-brun, *Georg.* i. 9. Its exact latitude, indeed, is 24° 5′ N., while the tropical circle is 23° 28′, a difference of 37′. It is said, however, that the inclination of the shadows is still not perceptible to the eye there.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 64.

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His sickness imputed to poison administered by Piso.

the provincials vied with one another in courtly demonstrations of delight, at which Piso was so mortified as to break out into actual violence against the astonished populace of Antioch. Retiring, however, no further than Seleucia, he there proposed to await the event of his chief's sickness, which had again returned; while the friends and attendants of Germanicus murmured their suspicions that he had administered poison to their patron. They pretended, moreover, that he had assailed his life with magical incantations, in proof of which they produced charms and amulets, with the remains of human bones, hidden under the floor of his apartment, and the name of Germanicus inscribed on leaden tablets and buried amongst these implements of their abominable witchcraft. The Romans were fully persuaded of the supposed powers of sorcery, and they had ample experience perhaps of the actual effects of poison: yet it hardly occurred to them that the use of the one must be superfluous as an adjunct to the other. We may be allowed, however, to think that in producing this secondary proof of Piso's criminality, they have weakened the credibility of the primary accusation.[1]

Death of Germanicus. A.D. 19. A.U. 772.

Meanwhile the messengers whom Piso sent to inquire after the prince's health were naturally regarded as spies, if not as assassins. Germanicus, it seems, was himself fully impressed with the idea that he was the victim of treachery, and he dictated from his bed a letter to the culprit, in which

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 69.; Dion, lvii. 18.

he formally renounced his insidious pretensions to friendship.[1] At the same time he commanded him to surrender the ensigns of authority, and, as some related, to quit the province, fearing to expose to his implacable hatred, on his own anticipated demise, the lives and fortunes of his defenceless family.[2] Whether commanded or admonished only, Piso sullenly submitted. He put himself on board a vessel, and sailed westward: nevertheless he continued to linger slowly on his route, awaiting the moment of the prince's dissolution to return, and boldly seize again the proconsular power in Syria. Germanicus grew rapidly worse. With his failing breath he called his friends into his presence, and adjured them to prosecute Piso and Plancina as the undoubted authors of his death, and charge the senate to avenge his murder with a stern and righteous judgment. Many brave and noble spirits were assembled round his bed, devoted to the republic and to the Cæsarean family, and the appeal of the dying prince to their affection was not made in vain. They promised to hold his last wishes sacred; nor did they fail in their promise.[3] Finally the dying man turned to his faithful Agrippina, whose heart was ready to break with grief and rage, and implored her to moderate her transports, to check the first fury of her indignation, and for the sake of their children, so dear to both, abstain from any demonstrations of pride which might give offence to personages more powerful, as he

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 70.: Componit epistolas, queis amicitiam ei renuntiabat.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Addunt plerique, jussum provincia decedere.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 71.

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said, than herself. This covert allusion was supposed to point at Tiberius himself; and the rumour was eagerly embraced by a licentious populace, that their favourite with his last breath had warned his luckless relict to beware the malice of her natural guardian.[1]

Reflections upon his character.

The character of Germanicus, as I have already intimated, is represented to us as one of the most interesting of Roman history. It is embellished by the warmest and most graceful touches of the greatest master of pathos among Roman writers, and invested with a gleam of mournful splendour by the laments and acclamations of the populace to whom he was endeared. It is the more difficult to form a just estimate of it, from the impossibility of distinguishing, in the pages of Tacitus, the genuine statements of history from the gloss put upon them by a sentimental admirer. Upon the whole, the impression we may most justly receive is, that the renowned Germanicus was a man of warm and generous temper, but too soft, perhaps, and flexible in disposition ever to have become a patriot or a hero. His condescension to the susceptibilities of the Athenians and Alexandrians was rather puerile than statesmanlike. It is a childish affectation in a ruler to pretend to be an equal. The hard and self-controlling Tiberius was right in reproving it. The emperor, the real man of the world, trained in action and suffering, knew better the painful requirements of the imperial station. Nor, again, was the taste the young prince exhibited for mere curiosities, and the excitement of sight-seeing, quite

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 72.

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worthy of his awful responsibilities. His proceedings, indeed, are described by Tacitus in the spirit of a dilettante, and some portion at least of the frivolity which seems to attach to them may be laid perhaps to the charge of the author rather than of the actor himself. Nevertheless, it seems to me that such, under the circumstances of the times, was not the stuff of which the ruler of a hundred millions of men could auspiciously be made. We shall meet, as we proceed, with many similar examples of well-disposed youths born in the Roman purple, displaying in early life almost feminine graces of character, but degenerating under the trials and burdens of maturer years into timid and selfish tyrants. But it is futile perhaps and presumptuous to draw conclusions from such slight and shadowy data as we possess: the remains of Germanicus have been embalmed in some of the most eloquent pages of the historic muse, and it seems a kind of desecration to turn him in his tomb.

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Germanicus fondly compared to Alexander the Great.

The decease of the illustrious Cæsar drew tears and lamentations from the provincials, and even from the people of the neighbouring countries, while allies and tributary sovereigns felt that they had lost in him a generous protector and friend. Solemnized at a distance from the homes of his race, his funeral was not adorned with the images of his ancestors, which occupied their niches along the walls of the paternal mansion: but the place and circumstances of his death, cut off as he was by premature disease far away from his native soil, on the spot which his virtues and genius had made his own, threw some colour of excuse over the fond

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idea of a resemblance between him and the great Alexander.[1] The character of the renowned Macedonian conqueror was indeed the type to which the Romans were constantly turning. Pompeius had emulated it; even Crassus had aspired to it; the flatterers of Octavius had confidently ascribed it to their patron. The claims of Germanicus to such a comparison were slight indeed; the only points of similitude that could fairly be pleaded for him were his youth and generosity, the first an universal, the second a common attribute of early manhood: yet such is the charm of these qualities that they gained him more perhaps of his countrymen's admiration than if he had conquered a Mithridates, or avenged the defeat of Carrhæ. His body was consumed in the forum at Antioch, after being exposed naked to the view of the crowds around. Such as were already preoccupied with the conviction that he had been murdered are said to have traced upon it indubitable marks of poison; while less prejudiced observers, it was admitted, perceived no indications to justify the suspicion. The friends of Germanicus, however, were intent on bringing the supposed culprits to justice. They seized a woman named Martina, a creature of Plancina, and one already obnoxious in popular estimation to the charge of a professed poisoner, and sent her to undergo examination at Rome, while they concocted their formal accusations against both Piso and his wife. The lieutenants of the deceased prince, and as many senators as were present, took upon themselves, in the absence of any regular authority, to choose a proconsul for

Suspicions of poison.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 73.

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Syria, in anticipation of the legitimate appointment of the emperor. It was important for their views against the late proconsul to occupy the place he had so reluctantly vacated, and shut the doors of the province against his unauthorized return. The imperium was devolved, after some discussion among them and the competition of more than one candidate, upon Cn. Sentius.[1] Agrippina herself made no longer stay in Syria, but embarked with her children, and, bearing the ashes of her husband, directed her course for Rome.[2]

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Indecent exultation of Piso.

Piso meanwhile awaited the long-expected assurance of his enemy's demise at the island of Cos. His triumph was insolently avowed. He did not hesitate to offer vows and sacrifices on the occasion; and his wife, it was remarked, chose that moment for putting off the garb of mourning which she had recently adopted for the death of a sister.[3] Nor were there wanting among the adherents of the disgraced proconsul military advisers who counselled him to return without delay to Syria, and claim the province as his own. His dismissal, if such it really was, had been irregular; it had been unauthorized either by the emperor or the senate; the substitution of a successor might be represented as violent and indecent. His son, Marcus Piso, however, would have dissuaded him from so daring an act, so near akin to treason and rebellion, and recommended rather his continuing on his course to Rome, and seeking at the emperor's hands restitution of the government of which he had been, as was alleged, so arbitrarily

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 74. [2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 75. [3] Tac. l. c.

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deprived.[1] The bolder advice prevailed. The more Tiberius actually rejoiced in the death of the prince he so deeply distrusted, the more, it was argued, would he, for appearance sake, steel himself against the appeal of that prince's acknowledged enemy. At the same time the pride of Piso revolted against the indignity of kneeling even to the noblest of the Romans. If terms were to be made, he would make them sword in hand. Without absolutely contemplating an armed insurrection against the imperial authority, he still rashly and haughtily fancied that his position would be more secure and independent at the head of the Syrian legions, than as a solitary suppliant at the door of the palace. He addressed a letter to the emperor, setting forth his complaints against Germanicus, and representing his claims to the government of which he had been abruptly deprived. Then summoning to him his guards and centurions, he retraced his steps towards Antioch. Landing on the coast, he intercepted some detachments which were marching into Syria, while at the same time he required the petty chiefs of Cilicia to furnish him with their stipendiary forces.[2] The Mediterranean itself was not wide enough to allow the foes

He claims the government of Syria.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 76.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 78. Cilicia Aspera, as has been shown by Zumpt (*Comm. Epigr.* ii.), was annexed to the province of Syria after its separation by Augustus from Cyprus, which was surrendered to the senate. Hence we infer that Quirinius, who gained the triumphal ornaments for his victories over the Homonadenses, a Cilician tribe, was actually governor of Syria. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48. Accordingly the bold act of Piso in arming the militia of this district was not an invasion of another governor's authority, but only the assertion of what he pretended to be rightfully his own.

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of Agrippina to pass her without directly meeting.[1] An altercation ensued between them, which nearly led to a desperate encounter; but when Vibius Marsus, who conducted the widow homeward, cited the assassin, as he freely styled him, to purge himself at Rome, Piso abstained from a hostile defiance, and replied that he would not fail to appear at the legitimate summons of the prætor. At the outset of his daring enterprise his courage seems to have already failed him. His forces, indeed, were altogether inadequate to the service for which he had designed them, and his only hope must have lain in the cowardice or want of faith of the chiefs opposed to him. But Sentius stood his ground firmly. He repelled Domitius, the officer whom Piso had sent before him to secure a footing in Syria; and when Piso himself took refuge in the fortress of Celenderis in Cilicia, advanced with the forces of the province against it, and sat down resolutely to reduce it. In vain did Piso try all the arts of persuasion and corruption on both the men and their leaders. Baffled and reduced to despair he petitioned for leave to remain unmolested in the place, upon surrendering his arms, till the question of the Syrian government should be decided by the emperor's fiat. His conditions were, however, rejected, and no other indulgence was accorded him than leave to quit his place of refuge, and take ship direct for Rome.[2]

Sympathy of the Romans for

Thus defeated in an enterprise so questionable in its character, Piso must have felt his position,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 79.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 79—81.

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whether as a suppliant for the favour or a claimant for the justice of the chief of the state, far more insecure than it had been before he rashly turned back from Cos. The temper of the people in the city was inflamed violently against him. In their breasts, at least, there was no doubt of his guilt; and the freedom with which, in the bitterness of their sorrow, they coupled the names of Tiberius and Livia with those of the detested Piso and Plancina, was far more likely to irritate the emperor against him, than induce him to throw a shield over his misfortunes. The first news which arrived at Rome of the failing health of Germanicus had excited popular suspicion against his uncle: it was muttered that his reputed patriotism, and the desire ascribed to him to restore the republic, were the cause of the fatal hostility of the head of his house. On a premature announcement of his death, the whole city spontaneously assumed all the outward demonstrations of an appointed mourning; and when again fresh arrivals from Syria proclaimed that he was still living, the people passed to the opposite extreme of frantic exultation, till the doors of the temples were actually burst with the pressure of the crowd of grateful worshippers.[1] But the fatal assurance of his actual decease was not long delayed. The usual honours paid to the dead Cæsars were decreed with more than usual genuineness of feeling. Triumphal arches were erected to him, not in Rome only, but on the Rhine and among the heights of the Amanus; and it was recorded upon them that he had *died for the*

Demonstrations of grief on his death.

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 5.; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 82.

republic.[1] His statues were set up in various cities, and divine honours offered to them; finally they received the peculiar distinction of a place among the masters of Roman eloquence. The exhibition of this feeling was directed personally to the hero himself: the rest of the imperial house could claim no share in it. When Livilla, the wife of Drusus, herself the sister of the lamented prince, brought forth at this time a twin-birth of sons, and Tiberius boasted with undissembled satisfaction that such good fortune had never before befallen so illustrious a parent, the people took no part in his rejoicings, but rather murmured at an event which seemed to add weight and influence to a rival branch of the Cæsarean family.[2]

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Arrival of the remains at Rome. A.D. 20. A.U. 773.

The arrival of Agrippina and her mournful equipage, first at Brundisium, and soon afterwards in the city, awakened the sorrows of the people to a louder and if possible a more universal explosion of grief. The funeral honours accorded by the emperor were not wanting in decent solemnity. He issued an order that the magistrates of every district through which it passed should meet it, and attend it on its way; that tribunes and centurions should carry the urn upon their shoulders, and the altars of the Dii Manes, the genii of the departed, should smoke with propitiatory sacrifices. Drusus, with the younger brother and children of Germanicus, went forth as far as Tar-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 83.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 84. Of these children one was Tiberius Gemellus, whose name will appear again on these pages: the other seems to have died in infancy.

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racina to meet it: the consuls, the senate, and a large concourse of the people of all ranks fell in with the procession as it drew nearer to the city.[1] But one thing seemed still to be wanting to the full complement of these funeral honours. The emperor, the chief of the house which had lost so distinguished a member, the chief of the state which mourned so cherished a hero, was himself absent. Even within the city, and after the dear remains had been consigned to the Cæsarean mausoleum, he abstained from showing himself in public, and letting his people behold him in the same garb of mourning as themselves. Livia also maintained a similar reserve; and not less so Antonia herself, the mother of the deceased. The suspicions already current against Tiberius and the aged empress were confirmed by this unaccountable coldness of demeanour: it was freely rumoured that they kept close within the palace walls lest the people should discover that under the guise of sorrow their eyes were really tearless; and Antonia, it was believed, was forbidden to attract attention to their absence by making herself visible to the citizens.[2] These surmises were, perhaps, hardly fair. Doubtless Tiberius had no personal affection for his nephew: he was probably jealous of him, and mortified at his unbounded popularity: in the midst of the wailing citizens he, at

Funeral honours paid them by the people.

Reserved demeanour of Tiberius and Livia.

[1] Other extraordinary signs of grief are recorded by Suetonius, l. c. Even foreign princes laid aside their royal ornaments on the day when this solemnity was reported to them; the king of the Parthians abstained from the state exercise of hunting.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 3.

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least, would have been no genuine mourner. Yet it is difficult to suppose that one so long trained in the dissimulation of a court would have found it hard to cast a decent cloud over his countenance, and a man so crafty and politic, as he has generally been represented, would have been studious in affecting the feeling of the hour, however little he may have really partaken of it. The fact is, however, that the breast of Tiberius was something very different from a mere calculating machine. He had strong feelings, and even violent prejudices upon certain points of conduct. He detested all outward expression of sensibility from temper rather than from policy. The lightness and frivolity of the Italian character, enfeebled as it now was by moral and sensual indulgence, its vehement gesticulations, its ready laugh or sigh, its varying smiles and tears, he despised with cynical indignation. Self-sufficing himself, and always self-controlled, he scorned the woe or the pleasure which seeks relief or sympathy from any outward demonstrations. There was, moreover, a dogged obstinacy about him which forbade him in this case to yield to the wishes and expectations of the people, just as on a former occasion he had held out morosely against the reasonable inclinations of Augustus. He was in fact one of those very unamiable men who subject their conduct to harsh interpretations from mere perverseness of temper, and the dislike and distrust they create in the breasts of those around them. There are positions in life in which such men are unavoidably thrust into crimes, and into such we shall soon find

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Tiberius impelled without the power of resistance. But it is probable that he was much misconstrued as a man before he became a monster, and the time at least has not yet come for the employment of those sable colours in which the brush of his delineator must eventually be dipped.

Tiberius checks the flow of popular feeling.

The injustice indeed, if such it has been, of the historians generally, and even of a Tacitus or a Suetonius, could touch him no further in his tomb: but it is not too much to say that the injustice of the Romans of his own day went far to confirm the vices, and exasperate the hatred, which they so impatiently proclaimed. Such was the inconsistency of his character that Tiberius was keenly alive to the popular opinion which he allowed himself so wantonly to outrage. He had long felt soreness and resentment at the distaste his countrymen had from an early period evinced for him. Mortified at the disappointment of his wish, if not his efforts, to conciliate them, not the less was he piqued at the success of his predecessor in the same course, from whose artifices his own pride revolted. The wound festered in silence and concealment. Conscious of unpopularity himself, he became jealous of every mark of popular favour towards others, and conceived by degrees a deadly fear of the guileless multitude of dupes and drones around him. Speaking of his position in relation to his people, he is said to have used the expression, *I hold a wolf by the ears.*[1] The description was a

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 25.: Ut sæpe lupum se auribus tenere diceret. Donatus or Terence (*Phorm.* iii. 2. 21.) gives the Greek proverb: *τῶν ὠτῶν ἔχω τὸν λύκον· οὔτ' ἔχειν οὔτ' ἀφεῖναι δύναμαι.* Baumgarten Crusius on Suet. l. c.

totally false one: it was the excuse of a coward to himself, which he sought presently to justify by acts of spasmodic ferocity; but the populace, meanwhile, unconscious of the alarms of its master, and alive only to his infirmities, indulged in the luxury of woe with a levity as frivolous as it proved eventually fatal. Not content with maliciously comparing with this neglect of Tiberius the warm feeling exhibited by Augustus on the death of Drusus, his going forth in the depth of winter two hundred miles from the city to meet the bier, his conveying it in person into the Forum, and pronouncing the funeral address before it from the Rostra, they lavished all their praises and acclamations on the widow of their favourite, declaring her the true glory of Rome, the only genuine child of Augustus, the last surviving specimen of ancient virtue.[1] Their vows to the Gods for her safety were mingled with passionate adjurations for the health and happiness of her offspring, and their escape from the calamities by which they were surrounded. Tiberius chafed at these ebullitions of their ill humour, and was provoked to check them by an edict, in which he gravely assured them that many noble Romans had died for the republic, but none had been bewailed with such an outburst of sensibility. It was well, he said, that it should be so, well for himself and for the people; but let some moderation be observed. There was a certain dignity and reserve becoming a prince and an

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 4.: Decus patriæ, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen.

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imperial people, which might be disregarded by private persons and petty commonwealths. Enough had been given to sorrow: let them remember the example of the divine Julius on the loss of his only daughter, of the divine Augustus on the death of his grandsons. How often, he added, had the Roman people borne with firmness the rout of its legions, the slaughter of its generals, and the overthrow of its noblest families. *Princes are mortal, the state is eternal. Let every one return to his affairs: let every one*, he added,—for the season of the Megalesian games was at hand,—*let every one resume his amusements.* And so the great tide of life closed over the remains of Germanicus.[1]

Piso refers his cause to the emperor.

While he was thus sowing the seeds of a long and deep misunderstanding between himself and his people, Tiberius was reflecting, with many gloomy misgivings, on the late proceedings of Piso. Though morbidly jealous of any encroachment on the paramount authority he claimed at home and abroad, he was not the less fixed in his resolution to abstain from obtruding it upon general notice by directly vindicating it. It was his aim to throw upon the senate the burden of defending the prerogatives it had, as he pretended, spontaneously conferred upon him. Accordingly, while he watched the acts of the proconsul, scrutinized his motives, and strove to penetrate his designs, he was not less vigilant in observing the disposition of the fathers, and estimating the support they would tender to himself. Piso's daring attempt

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 6.

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to recover a province from which he had been officially dismissed was an insult to the government: but would the senate regard it as an insult to itself?—did it identify the emperor's cause with its own?—might it not rather decline to interfere between the master and the instrument of his personal choice, and lean, at least in its inclinations, to the side of a member of its own body, in opposition to the authority which rivalled and controlled it? Such considerations as these, which Piso himself fully understood, weighed with great force on Tiberius, and made his measures appear uncertain and vacillating. The culprit relied upon the boldness and decision of his attitude. When required by Sentius to refer his cause to the just judgment of the emperor, he did not hesitate to accept the challenge. From the coast of Cilicia he had proceeded in the direction of Rome; nevertheless he did not care to betray by his haste any symptoms of anxiety. He travelled slowly and leisurely from city to city, and instead of taking the direct route by Dyrrhachium and Brundisium, he sent his son in advance with letters full of obsequious deference to the emperor, while he stepped himself aside into the province of Dalmatia, in order to obtain an interview with Drusus, who had returned there from attending the obsequies of Germanicus. Tiberius received the young man with courtesy and even with favour. Drusus, on the other hand, whose demeanour was generally open even to bluntness, affected a reserve and caution, in which he had evidently been instructed by his father, but assured Piso of his hope and

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trust that the rumours regarding the manner of the Cæsar's death would prove entirely groundless.[1]

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'The minds both of the citizens and of the chiefs of the state being in a feverish state of excitement and anxiety, every step the unfortunate culprit took became a matter of suspicion and manifold misconstruction. If on landing at Ancona he fell in with a legion on its march to Rome, having been removed from Pannonia under orders for Africa, and accompanied it for some miles on its route along the great Flaminian highway, it was reported that he had unduly courted the favour of the officers and soldiers; if, again, he left it at Narnia, and betook himself to the easier transport of a vessel down the Tiber, it was suggested that his conscious guilt sought thereby to avoid just suspicion, or that his treasonable plans were not yet fixed and mature. It was charged against him as a grave misdemeanor that he had allowed his bark to be fastened to the walls of the Cæsarean mausoleum on the margin of the Campus Martius. The pomp and even the affectation of cheerfulness with which he took his way into the city, attended by a retinue of clients, together with his wife Plancina, and a levy of her female friends, gave umbrage to a populace which was bent on taking offence. They pointed with malicious spite, as their ancestors might have done two or three centuries before, to the mansion of the Pisos overhanging the Forum, in proud defiance of the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 7, 8.

commonalty below, and resented, as tokens of his guilty ambition, the laurels and flags with which it was decorated to receive its long absent master; nor less at the number of friends and courtiers, who repaired thither to salute him and partake of his hospitality.[1] The death of the poisoner Martina, which occurred suddenly, it was said, on her passage to Rome, was regarded by many as a bloody device of the accused himself, or was taken perhaps as an indication of collusion between him and his prosecutors.[2]

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His accusers prepare their process against him.

Such being the temper of the public mind, and so strong the appearances of Piso's double guilt, there could be no lack of accusers to spring up, and seize the occasion to make a show of their eloquence, their zeal for law and justice, their love for the Roman people and the family of their ruler. It might rather be apprehended that the ends of justice would be defeated by the precipitation of intemperate assailants, or even by the false play of pretended enemies. Accordingly when a young noble, ambitious of forensic notoriety, Fulcinius Trio, came forward, the day after Piso's arrival, to lodge an impeachment against him with the consuls, the real friends of Germanicus, those to whom he had personally committed the vindication of his cause, were alarmed for the success of their maturer plans. Two of these, Vitellius and Veranius, immediately entered the court, and protested against the right of Trio to prosecute at all, declaring at the same time for themselves that they were not

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 9.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 7.

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come to declaim in behalf of Germanicus, but to attest by their solemn evidence the fact of Piso's criminality towards him. These representations were judged to have weight, and Trio was refused permission to make his oration against the culprit, as regarded his alleged misconduct in the East: he was indulged, however, with an opportunity of uttering an harangue upon the early career of Piso, and of blackening his character, to the extent of his ability, by a general defamation. Such were the facilities the Roman procedure gave to the young and ambitious declaimer: but attacks like these were mere empty displays of rhetoric, and served no purpose but to amuse the idle and gratify the malicious. Meanwhile Piso's friends, disregarding such frivolous demonstrations, and fixing their attention on the real point of attack, were striving to secure the emperor himself as the judge of the case; for the consular or tribunitian power of the emperor gave him formal jurisdiction in criminal trials, whenever he chose to exercise it. Piso had every reason to shrink from an appeal to the people; nor was he without grave apprehension of the bias of the senators against him. His best chance of a favourable, or even of a fair, hearing lay before the tribunal of Tiberius himself, who had at least no partiality for Germanicus, and who, it was well known, was indisposed to exhibit himself as the author of strong measures against senators and nobles. But Tiberius, on his part, shrank from the invidious position of a judge in a case so delicate. Not directly refusing the onerous responsibility, he seated himself indeed on the

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bench with certain of his own intimates as his assessors; but after listening for a time to the denunciations of the one party, and the obtestations of the other, he finally remitted the adjudication of the cause intact to the senate.[1]

The trial of Piso before the Senate.

Nothing now remained for the accused but to prepare his defence in the regular way. He solicited the noblest and ablest men in the city to plead his cause. L. Arruntius, Asinius Gallus, Sextus Pompeius, and others hardly less illustrious, refused, on various pretences, to defend him. M. Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus at length promised to stand by him; and great was the admiration of the citizens at the confidence of the friends of Germanicus on the one hand, and the assurance of the culprit on the other; while they anxiously questioned among themselves what the conduct of Tiberius would be, and whether he would sternly repress every personal feeling, and leave free scope to the force of truth and the influence of reason and eloquence.[2] The proceedings indeed were opened by the emperor in a speech of studied fairness and moderation.[3] He represented that Piso had been a trusty officer of the late emperor, and that he had himself, not without the consent of the senate, attached him as a coadjutor to Germanicus.[4] Whether in that capacity he had exasperated his

The proceedings opened by a speech from Tiberius.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 10.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 11.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 12.: Die Senatus Cæsar orationem habuit meditato temperamento.

[4] Tac. l. c.: Adjutorem Germanico datum. For the force of this expression, see note, p. 75.

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young chief by contumacy and rivalry, whether he had shown signs of satisfaction at his death, or even caused it by a criminal act, it was for the senate, he said, impartially to decide: if the former, he would feel it himself and resent it as a father, but he would not judicially punish it as a prince; but if the latter, it would be the duty of the senators on their part to visit the murderer with a murderer's reward, and console the family of the deceased with the vengeance which the law prescribed. He recommended them to examine carefully the charges advanced of seditious intrigues and irregular ambition; and whether the culprit had actually attempted to recover his province by force of arms, or his faults had been exaggerated by the malice of his accusers, whose over zeal the emperor felt bound at the outset to stigmatize and repress.[1] *For what right had they*, he asked, *to expose the body to the public eye, and invite provincials and foreigners to examine the pretended tokens of poison which it was impossible to test, if after all the crime was still unproved and matter of judicial inquiry?* He went on to charge the judges not to allow his private sorrow, great as he assured them it was, to influence their decision; to exhort the accused to omit no topic suitable for his own defence, or, if necessary, for the inculpation of Germanicus himself; to encourage his advocates

[1] Tacitus says, Armis repetita provincia; that is, he claimed by force of arms possession of *his own* province. If he had occupied a post such as Celenderis in another province, and employed its native forces, there would have been no question of the gravity of his crime, and no excuse for neglecting to animadvert upon it. A. Zumpt, *Comment. Epigraph.* ii.

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to exert their eloquence and ingenuity to the utmost in the cause of the unfortunate defendant; finally, he recommended all parties to have no regard for the tears of Drusus or his own distress, nor for any popular surmises that might be promulgated to his disadvantage.

Speeches in accusation.

Thus encouraged, or possibly perplexed and frightened, the senators addressed themselves to the work before them. Two days were allowed to the managers of the prosecution for exhibiting their charges; then, after an interval of six days, three more were granted for the defence. Fulcinius Trio, who had thrust himself, as has been said, into the front, began with a long and desultory attack upon the conduct of Piso when he formerly governed in Spain; an abuse of rhetoric only sanctioned by custom, but which could hardly produce even the petty result to which it was directed, of creating an unfavourable impression against the accused in the minds of his judges. An important part of the space allotted for the prosecution might be supposed to be wasted in this unprofitable skirmish. When, however, the genuine accusers stood forward with the decisive features of the case in hand, they found the tribunal so well disposed towards them, from whatever reason, that they were not required to bring on every point the most conclusive evidence. Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius followed one another in denouncing the culprit with equal fervour, and the last named of the three with conspicuous eloquence, for his enmity to Germanicus, his intrigues with the soldiery, his attempts, only too successful,

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by poison and magic, against the life of his commander, and, finally, his armed assault upon the prerogatives of the republic. Had Piso not been conquered as an enemy, argued Vitellius, he could not have been prosecuted as a criminal. Then followed an interval for the judges to reflect, and for the accused to prepare his defence. On most points of attack neither refutation nor excuse were possible; the political charges were too patent to be rebutted, too flagrant to be palliated. Here at least the replies of Piso were weak and vacillating.

Piso defends himself.

The charge of poison, however, he did not shrink from meeting with a steadfast denial; and this, indeed, either from mismanagement on the part of the prosecution, or from the real absence of any reasonable grounds of proof, had completely broken down; for it was founded not upon any alleged connexion between Piso and the notorious Martina, nor upon testimony extorted from his slaves, whom he freely tendered for examination on the rack, but upon the monstrous and incredible story, that, at a banquet given by the prince, while reclining at his side, he had with his own hands communicated poison to the viands upon the table.[1] The rumours of magical incantations were invented perhaps for the populace of Antioch and Rome: though repeated in the presence of the senators, we hear of no attempt either to substantiate or refute them.

[1] Slaves could not be questioned by torture against their own master, except, under the emperors, in cases of treason; but he might offer them to be tortured as witnesses in his favour. Rein, *Criminal-Recht der Römer*, p. 542. Pliny mentions (*Hist. Nat.* xi. 71.) that Vitellius in his speech, still extant in the writer's day, argued that poison had been administered, from the fact he asserted that the heart of Ger-

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But the judges, some on one account, some on another, were implacable. Tiberius himself could not forgive the attempt upon the province, and the senators, for the most part, remained doggedly convinced that the prince had met his death by unfair contrivance. There prevailed, however, among them a vague suspicion that there had been collusion of some sort between Piso and the emperor himself. It is possible that some of the judges or the accusers ventured to suggest that Piso's instructions should be produced, and that this was refused both by the one and the other.[1] Meanwhile the people had satisfied themselves of the full atrocity of the culprit's guilt. They surrounded the tribunal with cries of vengeance, threatening that if acquitted by his judges, they would tear the murderer to pieces with their own hands. They would have broken the busts and statues of Piso within their reach, and exposed them, in lieu of his own mangled limbs, on the Gemonian stairs, had not a military force arrived in time to defend them. The criminal was removed from the bar of justice in a closed litter, attended by a tribune of the Prætorian Guards: some supposed that this was for the protection of his person against the popular indignation, but

manicus would not burn. (Comp. Suet. *Calig.* 1.) The same, however, was believed to occur in the case of the morbus cardiacus (heartburn or cardialgia: v. Hardouin's note); and Piso pleaded that this was the malady of Germanicus.

[1] At this place there is an unfortunate lacuna in the MSS. of our authority Tacitus: the words, scripsissent . . . . expostulantes; quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere, seem to point obscurely to this supposition.

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others whispered already that it was determined to sacrifice him.[1]

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Thus ended the first day of the defence, and the culprit reentered his own doors with a gloomy presentiment of ultimate defeat. Thus far, however, his wife had affected to unite her cause with his, and had loudly declared that she would share his fortune, whether for good or for evil. If the general feeling was not less strong against her than against her husband, she might indulge in warmer hopes of protection from the favour of Livia, and as long as her interests were united with his, he might trust to escape under the shelter of her superior influence. But while Piso was battling desperately for his life in the Senate-house, Plancina was soliciting the empress in the recesses of the palace, keeping more aloof from him as the charges seemed to press harder, urging excuses for herself independently of her husband, and finally separating her cause from his. As soon as Piso discovered this, he felt that his last hope was gone. Hesitating to confront his accusers again, he was with difficulty prevailed on by his sons to brace his resolution for a second appearance before his judges. There he heard the charges once more repeated against him, and underwent interrogations which seemed to wax more manifestly hostile: but when he looked towards Tiberius, and observed how cold and reserved was his demeanour, how studiously he repressed every mark either of compassion or anger, he felt doomed beyond the reach of hope.

Deserted by Plancina, Piso commits suicide.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 13, 14.: Vario rumore, custos salutis an mortis exactor sequeretur.

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Carried back once more to his own dwelling, he called for his tablets, as if to compose the peroration of his defence, wrote a few lines, which he sealed and delivered to a freedman, after which he bathed and dressed as usual for the evening repast, and retired, after partaking of it, to his couch. At a late hour of the night, seizing the moment of his wife leaving his bedchamber, he ordered the doors to be closed. The first who entered it at daybreak discovered him lying with his throat severed, and his sword on the ground beside him.[1]

Rumour that Piso was put to death by the emperor's order, unfairly countenanced by Tacitus.

Such an end at such a moment gave rise to many whispered surmises. The Romans, prone at every moment to suspect foul play and underhand contrivance, could easily be led to impute the catastrophe to the emperor himself; and it is worth while to notice that our historian Tacitus reveals to us on this occasion the questionable sources to which we seem to owe a large portion of his gravest incriminations. *I have heard old people mention*, he says, *that Piso had often certain papers in his hand, the contents of which he did not publicly divulge; but that his friends used to affirm that they were the actual instructions addressed to him by Tiberius regarding the unfortunate Germanicus. These he had resolved to lay before the senators, and reveal the real guilt of the emperor, had not Sejanus, the confidant of Tiberius, dissuaded him by false hopes from his purpose. They added that he did not kill himself, but was, in point of fact, assassinated.*[2]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 15.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 16.: Quorum neutrum asseveraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis qui nostram ad juventam duraverunt.

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The writer concludes this narration, however, with cautioning the reader that he does not affirm this circumstance as an ascertained fact; and such, it must be remarked, is too frequently his habit, to be excused, perhaps, only from the paucity of really trustworthy documents in his reach,—to insinuate the truth of popular rumours under pretence of merely recounting them. It is not too much to assert that he really means us to believe most of the stories he thus repeats, under the protest that he cannot actually vouch for them. With this caution against the seductive influence of the most eloquent of historians, I return to the narrative before us.

Sentence against Piso.

Tiberius expressed, it seems, his mortification at the death of the criminal: he might easily foresee and deplore the suspicions to which he should himself be exposed by it. He allowed the son of the deceased to read in the presence of the senate the last words his father had written, which were now found to contain a vindication of his own children from the charge of treason from which he had failed to relieve himself, and an appeal to the emperor in their favour, by the five and forty years of his own faithful services, by the consulships accorded him by Augustus, and the friendship extended to him by Tiberius himself. Such, he said, was his last dying petition. Of the false Plancina he made no mention at all. The case for the defence being thus abruptly cut short, it only remained for the accusers to reply. The senators were not unmoved by compassion at the spectacle of a war still waged against a prostrate and insensible victim. They were satisfied with ex-

punging his name from the Fasti, and confiscating a portion of his estates, decreeing at the same time that his elder son Marcus should be banished for ten years, and Cnæus, the younger, renounce the prænomen he had derived from his father. Tiberius interfered to obtain some mitigation even of this sentence, protesting that it was too much to disgrace the name of Piso, when that of Marcus Antonius, who had fought against his country, and of Julus, who had dishonoured the imperial house, were allowed to retain their place in the rolls of public distinction. He spared also the property of the deceased, on this, as on other occasions, displaying an abstinence in this respect unusual in a sovereign ruler. But he had used his influence, in deference to his mother, to screen Plancina from prosecution; and so poignantly did he feel the disgrace of this interference, so much was he mortified at the murmurs of the citizens, as to seek to repair his credit by a show of lenity and moderation towards her husband and family. At the same time, he restrained the adulation which would have decreed him extraordinary honours for thus avenging the loss of Germanicus. It was no matter, he protested, of public joy and thanksgiving; it was the last act of a domestic calamity, fit only to be buried in the recesses of his own memory. Upon the accusers, however, he bestowed places in the priesthood, and promised to elevate Trio to civil distinctions, cautioning him at the same time to use his powers of oratory with discretion and moderation in future.[1]

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 17—19.

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Tiberius free from all suspicion in regard to the death of Germanicus.

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A calm review of the circumstances of this celebrated trial seems to leave no cloud of suspicion upon the conduct of Tiberius himself. It results clearly from the acknowledgments of the narrator, whose hostility to the third Cæsar is strongly marked, as we shall see, throughout the course of his history, that the evidence advanced to prove the murder of Germanicus was completely nugatory. Still less does there appear any reasonable ground to implicate Tiberius himself in participation in the schemes of Piso, even supposing the guilt of the latter in this respect to be still matter of question. The fault of the emperor, which gave rise to the most unfavourable surmises, lay in his want of firmness and decision as to the conduct of the case. However deeply irritated at the contumacy of his proconsul, he could not divest himself of the jealous distrust of his too subservient nobles, which impelled him constantly to throw upon them the responsibility of an inquiry, which, as chief of the state, was legitimately his own. The position he held was a source of unceasing alarm and anxiety to him. Already he found himself beset by the first dangers of a new intruding dynasty, the repeated apparition of rival claimants and pretenders. The first steps of his illustrious predecessor had been dogged by the upstart Amatius. At a later period Augustus had been persecuted by a bold impostor, who affirmed himself to be the real son of Octavius, for whom Marcellus had been substituted by fraud.[1] The death of the wretched Agrippa Postumus was

No proof of the murder.

[1] Val. Max. ix. 15. 2.

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Enterprize of the Pretender Clemens. A. D. 16. A. U. 769.

speedily followed by the enterprise of his slave, named Clemens, who pretended to represent him. As soon as he heard of the demise of Augustus, this man, we are told, formed the design of passing over from Italy to Planasia, and carrying off his master to the legions on the Rhine. It was supposed that he might have succeeded in this adventure but for the slowness of the merchant vessel in which he sailed for the island. On his arrival there he found the young prince already despatched. Conceiving at once a still more daring project, he secreted or dispersed the ashes of the murdered man, to destroy the evidence of his death, and retired for a time to Cosa, on the opposite coast of Etruria, till his hair and beard were grown, to favour a certain likeness which he actually bore to him. Meanwhile, taking a few intimates into his confidence, he spread a report that Agrippa still lived, for which he found ready listeners. He glided secretly from town to town, showing himself by twilight, for a few minutes only at a time, to men prepared for the sudden apparition, until it became noised far and wide that the Gods had saved the grandson of Augustus from the fate intended for him, and that he was about to visit the city and claim his rightful inheritance. At Ostia he was received by a great concourse of people, and numbers repaired privily to him on his entrance into Rome. It was long, however, before Tiberius could resolve to act vigorously against him. He would rather have left the vulgar imposture to die a natural death, than interfere to check it with the bruit of arms. At last he determined to exert

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himself. The pretender was speedily entrapped, by two simulated believers, and brought bound into the palace. When asked by Tiberius what right he had to assume the name of Agrippa? *The same*, he replied, *that you have to that of Cæsar.* The names of no loftier accomplices could be extorted from him, and it is probable that the design was from first to last merely a wild conception of his own. Tiberius was glad to bury the whole matter in oblivion. He put the man to death in the recesses of the palace, and had the body secretly removed, nor did he cause inquiry to be made into any circumstances of the attempt, though some of his own family and many knights and senators were said to have favoured it privily, and even given money to advance it. Such was the received account of the affair; as much, that is, as the emperor chose to reveal, or the people ventured to guess of it.[1]

Intrigues of Libo Drusus. A.D. 16. A.U. 769.

But the enterprise of an obscure slave was far less formidable than the intrigues of illustrious nobles, equals of the emperor himself in birth and ancestral honours. It was a tradition of the party which Tiberius historically represented, that every scion of a consular house was a possible candidate for the empire; and if his own jealousy was ever for a moment dormant, officious advisers were not wanting to excite his fears, and urge him to renewed precautions. A young noble named Libo Drusus, of the Scribonian Gens, the same which had given consorts to both Octavius and Sextus Pompeius, was suspected, from the first accession of the new ruler, of cherishing the project of sup-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 39, 40.; Suet. *Tib.* 25.; Dion, lvii. 16.

planting him. His juvenile ambition had been fostered by the artifices of a pretended friend, who had tampered with the weakness of his character, and led him into criminal relations with the sooth-sayers and diviners, who were casting the horoscopes of the unwary, and flattering with dangerous dreams every illicit aspiration. Libo admitted to his bosom the wildest hopes of fulfilling the pretended destiny of his illustrious ancestors. The sharer of his counsels made no scruple of betraying them to the emperor. Such, however, was the apprehension Tiberius entertained of the influence of a noble name, that he did not venture at once to check him. On the contrary, he continued for more than a year to heap honours upon him; while he was actually in such fear of personal violence, that, having occasion to assist him at a sacrifice, he caused him to be furnished with a knife of tin; and when he conversed with him, pretended always to lean confidentially on his arm, to prevent him from drawing forth the weapon which he suspected him of carrying beneath his girdle.[1] It was not till he had obtained distinct proof that Libo had consulted a magician, who pretended to evoke the dead for unhallowed inquiries, that he ventured to convene the senate, *to deliberate*, as the tenour of his summons ran, *upon a dreadful and monstrous crime.* Libo was soon made aware of the danger in which he stood. He clothed himself in mourning, and glided from house to house, suing in vain for the advocacy of his illustrious friends. All shut their doors, or

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 25.

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turned their backs upon him. On the day appointed for the trial, he appeared in the senate without a patron, and studied only to excite commiseration by a real or feigned sickness. Of accusers there was no lack. Among them was Firmius, the false friend already noticed, and Fulcinius Trio, the rabid declaimer. The charges produced embraced some of the wildest fictions. One of his prosecutors asserted that he had been promised gold enough to pave the Appian Way as far as Brundisium. Upon this and other testimonies scarcely less trivial, it was determined to examine his slaves; and as the law forbade the examination of a master's slaves against him in a capital case, Tiberius caused them to be enfranchised before subjecting them to the question. Libo now felt that his fate was decided. Returning home, after the first day's investigation, for the personal liberty of the noble Roman was never yet restricted, even under a capital charge, he sat down to table, but after some delay and hesitation, accomplished his own destruction.[1] The prosecution was carried on notwithstanding; and when the culprit's guilt was finally declared to be proved, Tiberius asserted that he was prepared to have pardoned him, had he allowed him the opportunity.[2]

Apprehensions of Tiberius.

The readiness of the senators to combine against the presumed enemies of the Princeps, the zeal with which they vied with one another in leading

[1] Thus when Cicero assigned the Catilinarian conspirators to the custody of certain nobles, the legal fiction of their freedom was ostensibly respected.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 27—31.

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the prosecution against them, the eagerness with which they united in decreeing their death, and the confiscation of their property, all these tokens of fidelity and devotion might have reassured even the timidity of Tiberius, and made him feel secure of the base submission of his courtiers. But it seems to have had rather the contrary effect of alarming him. He saw in it the most fatal evidence of the degradation of the Roman character, and he augured from it that the time would arrive when, every bond of religious feeling being broken, the loyalty with which Augustus had inspired his subjects would give way to selfish passions, and when the man who should succeed in out-bidding him in popularity would become the master of their venal affections. These apprehensions were increased by every expression of freedom hazarded by his anticipated rivals, which he presumed to be grounded on a legitimate conviction that their time was coming, and that there was in the community a large mass of feeling which fully responded to their pretensions. Among the nobles of the senate there was a certain class who affected to indemnify themselves for the loss of substantial liberty by petty sallies of impatience, and scarce disguised irony; and among these Piso had been one of the most conspicuous. Thus, for instance, when Tiberius had announced, on a certain occasion, that, contrary to his usual reserve, he would declare his opinion on a particular charge in person, Piso ventured to ask, would he speak first or last?—*if first*, he added, *I shall have a guide to follow; if last, I fear lest I may through ignorance dissent*

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from you. Such, says Tacitus, were some of the last traces of expiring liberty.[1] While, however, any such traces, however slight, still remained, the shadowy phantom of the Republic continued to flit before the eyes of the Cæsar. There was still, he apprehended, a germ of sentiment in existence, on which a scion of his own house, or even a stranger to it, might boldly throw himself, and raise the sacred standard of patrician independence.

Relieved by the deaths of Germanicus and Piso.

The death of Piso concurred with that of Germanicus to relieve him from the terrors of this hateful anticipation. From this time he began really to reign. He was well aware, indeed, that he had fastened on himself the hatred of the citizens by the mere suspicion of his complicity in deaths which had so manifestly served his interests; he knew that all his acts and measures would henceforth be construed to his injury, and a dark cloud of national distrust hang for ever upon his memory. But, on the other hand, these were the mere shadows of evil. To the loss of his good name he was becoming more and more hardened. The flattery of poets and historians, even the clamorous applause of the populace, he could buy again if he chose; but with his cynical contempt for his people, he did not think it worth the cost in spectacles and largesses. He now felt himself safe from the machinations of his nearest enemies, and free to exchange the disguised autocracy of his predecessor, which he wanted himself the tact and moderation to wield, for the direct and harsh

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 74. Comp. ii. 35.

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exercise of uncontrolled dominion. The figure of the Despot towered above the walls of the Constitution, like the countenances of the hostile Gods over the ramparts of Troy.

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Secret influence of Livia.

Nevertheless while the third Cæsar was thus rising supreme over the laws of his country, and the lives and fortunes of the citizens, he was not himself exempt from certain concealed and mysterious influences, which continued almost unknown to himself to direct and control him. The first of these was the will of his mother Livia, who seemed now, in extreme old age, to reap the full fruits of her ambition, the passion to which she had subjected every other inclination through her long career of intrigue and dissimulation. Her son had risen under her auspices, and mainly, perhaps, by her direct contrivances, to the summit of power which she had so deeply coveted for him, and her own influence over him had increased rather than diminished with his success. All Rome regarded the empress-mother with far more of awe and obsequious submission than the empress-consort. If she had really been the mistress of the councils of Augustus, he at least had retained the ostensible power. But the habits of obedience she had early impressed upon her son remained deeply stamped on his tenacious disposition; nor, however much her yoke might sometimes gall him, had he the spirit to reject it when he became the master of all the world besides. The women whom she admitted to her intimacy presumed to defy the laws, under her protection. On one occasion her favourite, Urgulania, being cited as a witness before

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the tribunal of the senate, refused to appear, and the prætor was complaisantly sent to take down her examination in private at her own house, a privilege which was not accorded even to the sacred character of the vestals.[1] On another, the same Urgulania was the cause of a struggle for supremacy between Tiberius and his mother. It was considered a remarkable instance of firmness on his part, that he insisted on her paying down the fine which was imposed upon her by a judicial sentence. But the greatest triumph of Livia's authority was seen in the acquittal of her friend Plancina. The emperor, consummate as was his power of dissimulation, failed to disguise the disgust he felt at the part he was reduced to play in deference to her love of power.

and of Sejanus.

Another influence behind the throne has already been glanced at, in accounting for the jealousy Tiberius felt of the martial aspirations of Germanicus. The most eloquent of the emperor's flatterers, in concluding his brief survey of Roman history which has come down to us, with a review of the opening promise, such as he represented it, of this ill-fated reign, after painting in flaunting colours the virtues and successes of the third Cæsar, glides into the reflection, that the good fortune of the greatest men is generally to be traced in part to the merits of their most cherished advisers. Thus the valour of the Scipios was supported by the genius of the Lælii, and Augustus himself reclined upon the arms of an Agrippa and a Taurus.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 34.: Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri civile ratus.

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In like manner, he adds, did Tiberius rejoice in the powerful aid of Lucius Sejanus, a man of rare energy and ability, vigorous alike both in mind and body, a loyal servant, a cheerful companion, one whose natural modesty evinced his actual desert, and smoothed the way for his well-merited advancement.[1] This and much more does Velleius say in praise of the favourite of Tiberius, the man whose name has become a by-word in history for all that is most fulsome in adulation, most base in dissimulation, most atrocious in crime. Sejanus belonged to the Ælian Gens, perhaps by adoption, and his paternal family was only of equestrian rank.[2] On the mother's side he is said to have descended from a more illustrious ancestry. He was born at Vulsinii in Etruria. He seems to have first founded his fortunes on the favours of a wealthy debauchee[3]; but when he succeeded in attaching himself to the person of the young Caius Cæsar, the prospect of public eminence began to open upon him. On his second patron's premature decease he transferred himself to the service of Tiberius, over whom he soon acquired an influence, which it became the object of his existence to confirm and extend. But the arts by which such influence is obtained over a timid and self-distrusting character, however sly and suspicious it may be, do not

[1] Vell. ii. 127.

[2] L. Ælius Sejanus was the son of Seius Strabo, a Roman knight.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 1.; Dion, lvii. 19. This was M. Apicius, the second of the three noted gourmands of the name, who are supposed to have flourished in succession from the time of Augustus. Strange as this fact may seem, it is impossible to gainsay the evidence by which they are distinguished from one another.

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always imply any great superiority of talent; and the enemies of Sejanus refused to allow the object of their abhorrence the praise even of eminent abilities. They would only admit that he was active and hardy in frame, and was not deficient in boldness and enterprise: he had, they said, the address to conceal his own vices, while he was shrewd in unmasking the disguises of others. His pride and meanness were equal one to the other, and he could carry a pretence of moderation in his demeanour, while his lust of power and lucre was really unbounded.[1]

Sejanus prefect of the Prætorian guards.

On his master's succession to the empire, Sejanus was found useful, and retained the influence he had acquired, by his skill, we may suppose, in relieving him from the weight of his burdens without seeming to take them upon himself. Tiberius sent him on a confidential mission to advise the young Drusus in Pannonia; but he was speedily recalled from this distant service, and appointed colleague with his father in the command of the prætorian cohorts, quartered in the vicinity of the capital. This charge placed him in a position of the strictest intimacy with the emperor, over whose personal safety it was his duty to watch, while he provided for the execution of his orders in Rome. Here he may have suggested that distrust of Germanicus to which the Romans ascribed the hero's recall from the Rhenish frontier; he may have prompted the mission of Piso, as a check upon the presumed ambition of the young prince in Asia; he may have

[1] Tac. l. c.; Dion, l. c.

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whispered to the proconsul of Syria an assurance that his opposition to his chief would not be distasteful to the sovereign power at home. However this may be, Tiberius required a staff to lean upon, and Sejanus was strong enough and bold enough to supply one. Anxious as the new emperor was, from his first accession to power, to know everything, and to do everything himself; impatient as he was of leaving affairs to take their course under a wise but distant superintendence, and jealous of all interference with his own control; yet, finding day by day that the concerns of his vast administration were slipping away beyond the sphere of his personal guidance, from the inability of any single mind to embrace them all together, he was reduced to the necessity of falling back upon extraneous assistance; and he preferred, from the character of his mind, to draw irregular aid from a domestic favourite, rather than throw irresponsible power into the hands of his distant vicegerents. He controlled the satraps in his provinces by the agency of a vizier at home.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE COMITIA: 1. ELECTION OF MAGISTRATES; 2. LEGISLATION; 3. JURISDICTION: TRANSFERRED TO THE SENATE, AND HENCE TO THE EMPEROR HIMSELF.—THE EMPEROR'S CONTROL OVER THE SENATE.—THE LAW OF MAJESTAS: ITS ORIGIN, APPLICATION, AND EXTENSION UNDER TIBERIUS FROM ACTS TO WORDS AND INJURIOUS LANGUAGE.—CASES OF CONSTRUCTIVE MAJESTAS.—DELATION ENCOURAGED BY TIBERIUS.—CONSOLIDATION OF THE ROMAN DOMINIONS UNDER TIBERIUS.—STATIONS AND DISCIPLINE OF THE LEGIONS.—THE GOVERNMENT AND IMPROVED TREATMENT OF THE PROVINCES.—GOVERNMENT OF ITALY AND THE CITY.—DISSIPATION OF THE TIMES.—MEASURES OF TIBERIUS.—HIS OWN VICES AND VIRTUES.—HIS DEFERENCE TO THE SENATE.—DEFECTS OF TEMPER AND DEMEANOUR.

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General result of the struggle between democracy and aristocracy.

THE democracy, when roused to deadly struggle against the aristocracy, generally gains the victory, but the fruits of victory it has seldom the capacity to retain. The empire of the Cæsars was founded, as we have seen, on the passions and just claims of the popular branch of the Roman community; but while the show of power, its trappings, and even its emoluments, fell again into the hands of the nobility, the real substance eluded, as is most usual in such cases, the grasp both of the one and the other. We have already remarked how studiously Augustus sought to raise the dignity of the senatorial order, while he repressed all free action in the commons, and deprived them, one by one,

of the prerogatives they had acquired through so many vicissitudes of revolution. Though the descendant and representative of Marius, he was in fact, as regarded the relations of the two rival orders of the state, no other than a second Sulla.[1]

The balance trimmed by the tact of Augustus.

Whatever remained, however, still to be done, in order to reduce the Roman plebs to utter insignificance, was speedily effected by the regulations of Tiberius. The balance between the conflicting powers of the state was only trimmed for the moment by the sagacity and fortune of Augustus, for whom all parties were content to waive the exaction of their legitimate or pretended rights. When a successor followed, with less personal authority and less delicacy in the management of it, the machine of government might have been in danger of collapsing. The appointment of magistrates, the enactment of laws, the constitution even of the judicial tribunals, had all been left unfixed in principle, and abandoned, as occasion arose, to the wisdom and moderation of the emperor, upon which all equally relied. The Romans acquiesced in the fiction which was now palmed upon them of equal laws and a regular constitution: but in fact the limits of every department of government were normally undefined. This was a state of things which, however passive the temper of the mass of the nation had now become, could not longer endure in the face of a restless and sensitive nobility. Tiberius, moreover, from the character

More logical character of the polity of Tiberius.

[1] See Hoeck's *Rœm. Gesch.* i. 3. p. 50. foll. I have taken advantage here of this author's luminous view of the constitution of the empire under Tiberius.

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of his mind, required a more logical development of the polity which he had undertaken to direct, and that polity had begun spontaneously to assume, as the condition of its existence, both outward form and internal organization.

The threefold functions of the Comitia.

The transfer of the business of the popular assemblies to the senate is announced, as we have seen, by Tacitus with a coolness and indifference which may seem scarcely worthy of its apparent importance. Whatever the aspirations of the historian may have been for the so-called liberty of the old aristocratic regime, the traditions of which he has hallowed by his eloquent declamations, it is probable that no Roman of his day, the second century from the fall of Roman independence, really felt the value of the forms of the free state, which had so long passed from degradation to oblivion. But in fact the change which he here announced was less important than at first sight it appears. On the one hand, the action of the Comitia had been already paralysed for half a century, and was now only occasionally quickened by the emperor himself to serve his own purposes, while, on the other, its presumed functions, though thus ostensibly abolished, were not in reality absolutely extinguished. The functions of the Comitia, whether the people met by tribes or centuries, were properly threefold, those of Election, of Legislation, and of Jurisdiction; and it will be desirable to pause at this point of our narration, to review briefly in succession the position in which the empire found and left these functions respectively.—

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I. The election of magistrates

I. The popular privilege of election, whether of the higher or the lower magistrates, had been limited by the first Cæsar, and after him by the triumvirs. In the plenitude of their confidence, the people had urged their patron, the Dictator, to assume the sole nomination to all civil offices; and it was by a mere act of grace on his part that the free choice of one half of them was remitted to the popular assemblies, while of the other he accepted only the right to nominate and recommend, the latter act being of course virtually equivalent to a direct appointment.[1] The proceedings of the triumvirs were merely irregular and revolutionary.[2] They grasped the direct appointment of all: but it was among the first cares of Augustus, on succeeding to his parent's inheritance, to return to the principles Cæsar had set forth, and restrict himself to the nomination of one half of the magistrates, leaving to the assemblies of the tribes and centuries the unfettered election of the rest. He allowed himself only to put a veto upon the nomination of unworthy candidates; but while he reserved to himself the decision of what should constitute merit or demerit, he reduced in fact the succession to all places of trust and power to a matter of personal favour. Such was the pretended restoration of the prerogatives of the people, for which Augustus obtained credit[3]: it was a part of

[1] With the exception of the consuls, the appointment of whom he reserved solely to himself. Dion, xliii. 45. See above, ch. xxi.

[2] Appian, iv. 2., v. 73.; Dion, xlvii. 15., xlviii. 35. 53.

[3] Suet. *Oct.* 40.: Comitiorum pristinum jus reduxit. Dion, lvi. 46.: τό τε ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε.

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the general system of dissimulation with which he imposed upon a people willing to be deceived, a system which could only succeed in the hands of one whose personal merits were far dearer to them than any consistent theory of government. It was with a peculiar feeling of complacency that they beheld, year after year, the solemn mockery of the emperor's descent into the Field of Mars, when he led his clients by the hand, recommending their claims, and asking for them the suffrages of all comers, till he finally registered his own vote in their behalf.[1] Such was the practice of Augustus through the greater part of his long reign. Towards its close, when he could less easily bear the fatigue of this repeated exertion, he contented himself with furnishing his nominees with written credentials, and spared himself the trouble of attending personally with them.[2] Even this was not precisely a novelty; it was following the precedent of the Dictator, and it was accepted by the people as a sufficient recognition of their ultimate right of election. They continued to go through the ancient forms of polling, with the bridge, the penfold, and the urn; and with respect at least to that portion of the places to which the emperor abstained from nominating, a stranger only historically conversant with the system of the free state might have found perhaps nothing in the

Augustus nominates magistrates to the Comitia.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 56.: Quoties magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circumibat, supplicabatque more solemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium, ut unus e populo.

[2] Dion, lv. 34.: *γράμματα τίνα ἐκτίθεις συνίστη τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅσους ἐσπούδαζε.*

methods of procedure to awaken him from his dream of the republic of the Scipios.

Tiberius nominates to the senate.

With an instrument of government so conveniently adjusted to his hand, so facile and flexible to every touch, it is not likely that Augustus ever thought of placing further restrictions upon the pretended freedom of election. Tiberius, however, found it advisable to announce that the reform which he himself meditated had already been conceived and planned by his predecessor.[1] But the transfer of power, or rather of the show of power, which he made, did not reach the extent of closing the assemblies either of the tribes or centuries for purposes of election. While he continued the system of nomination and recommendation, addressing it not to the Comitia but to the senate, he still allowed the people to meet in their accustomed places, and with the ancient forms, to accept the return of the superior order, and express their acceptance of it.[2] Hence we find the term Comitia still occasionally employed, though not quite correctly, to represent the election of magis-

The Comitia still meet to accept the appointments of the senate.

[1] Vell. ii. 124.: Primum principalium ejus operum fuit ordinatio comitiorum quam manu sua scriptam D. Augustus reliquerat. The pretexts assigned may be surmised from the further remarks this author makes on the subject (c. 126.): revocata in forum fides; submota foro seditio, ambitio campo, discordia curiæ; sepultæque ac situ obsitæ justitia, æquitas, industria civitati redditæ.

[2] Thus although in *Ann.* i. 15. Tacitus had said that the Comitia were now transferred from the Campus to the Senate-house, in the eighty-first chapter of the same book he describes the action of the Comitia as still continuing: De comitiis consularibus quæ tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere vix quidquam firmare ausim: .... Comp. Dion, lviii. 20. I have stated in the text what appears to have been the ordinary arrangement; but this, it must be understood, was subject to occasional irregularities.

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trates; and the meetings of the people in the booths or septa, and on the plain of the Campus Martius, continued to take place periodically to a much later period of the imperial history.[1] The candidates, already assured of their appointment, waited on the steps of the neighbouring temples while the auspices were taken and other tedious solemnities, which had long lost their significance, performed; and these were finally closed by the announcement of a herald that the election had fallen upon the nominee of the emperor.[2] From henceforth, however, we are to consider not only that every consular appointment is made by the mere voice of the emperor, but that every other magistrate is chosen by the senate, partly upon the imperial nomination, partly with a show of free selection, and, finally, that to these at least the popular sanction is also ostensibly given.[3] The effect of the reform, therefore, is after all not the transfer of any substantial power from the one assembly to the other, but simply an additional

[1] The Comitia of the tribes under the empire met no longer in the Forum, but in the Septa Julia of Agrippa in the Campus Martius. Dion, liii. 23.

[2] See a rather curious description of this ceremony in Pliny, *Paneg.* 63., and the passages from Suet. *Domit.* 10. and Senec. *Ep.* 118., which are brought to illustrate it.

[3] The practice of a later period, as described by Dion (lviii. 20.), was probably the same in substance as that of the Tiberian: *τῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτούντων ἐξελέγετο ὅσους ἤθελε, καὶ σφᾶς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέπεμπε, τοὺς μὲν συνιστὰς αὐτῷ, οἵπερ ὑπὸ πάντων ᾑροῦντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς δικαιώμασι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, τῷ τε κλήρῳ ποιούμενος· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος* (the centuries and the tribes) *οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, τῆς ἀρχαίας ὁσίας ἕνεκα, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ὥστε ἐν εἰκόνι δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι, ἐσίοντες ἀπεδείκνυντο.*

ray of pale and doubtful lustre cast upon the laticlave of the senator.

II. The power of legislation.

II. The second of the functions of the Comitia, that of legislation, stood upon a somewhat different footing from that of election. The popular prerogative of choosing the officers of state had never been called in question throughout the whole career of the republic: it might be considered as absolutely inherent in the people and inalienable from them. Jealous of its own rights, and disposed to encroach upon all others, the senate notwithstanding had never ventured to claim a share in the appointment of magistrates who were to preside over the common weal. But the limits of the popular authority in the making of laws, on the other hand, had been a constant subject of dispute between the two great powers of the state. Previous to the enactment of the famous Lex Hortensia, one of the great charters of the rights of the commons, the scita of the Plebs were not binding on citizens generally until they had been ratified by the senate. The Comitia of the tribes were now rendered completely independent of the superior order: nevertheless it was some time before they asserted the powers thus secured to them in defiance of the senate, with which they had been long accustomed to cooperate harmoniously. The most flourishing period of the Roman free state was that in which the two coordinate bodies were aware of their respective prerogatives, but each abstained from pressing them against the interests of the other. While the people were the real depositaries of the legislative power, the senate enjoyed the

Independent legislation of the

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tribes balanced by the decrees of the senate.

right of nominating provincial governors, and through them of ruling the provinces: its decrees respected the general administration of the empire, and these, as well as the appointments which it made, were honourably respected by the assemblies of the commons. When, however, the Gracchi and their successors on the tribunitian benches thought fit violently to resent the advantages which the senate drew to itself from this division of government, the several prerogatives of the two orders, never accurately adjusted, were easily made to clash. The equilibrium of mutual forbearance once disturbed, it was found impossible to restore the balance. Though the popular right of legislation was ascertained and admitted, the senate had many ways of thwarting, as well as of influencing it indirectly. The demagogues, to counteract this influence, resorted to the violent measure of requiring the assent of the senators to their most obnoxious propositions, under pain of judicial penalties.[1] This state of chronic hostility and defiance was only for a moment suspended by the reforms of Sulla, who compelled the tribes to submit their scita to the ratification of their rivals the senate.[2] But the time had passed when the selfish and grasping measures of the senatorial body could be reconciled with the claims of the inferior order to its full share in the general government, and all Sulla's legislation fell with a crash together, under the pretended patronage of Crassus and Pompeius. From henceforth the legislative

[1] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 29. [2] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 59.

monopoly of the comitia remained unquestioned: it was only subject to the indirect checks still left in the hands of the consuls and augurs. It was perhaps from their consciousness of the existence of these checks, however, that the leaders of the people generally contrived to secure the approval of a majority of the senate for their measures, and to maintain to the last a show of concurrent legislation.[1]

Legislative power gradually assumed by the senate.

Meanwhile the senate indeed had not refrained, on its part, from encroaching on the legislative functions of its rivals, and snatching by various devices a substantive power of legislation for itself. It demanded that its Consulta should have the same independent force as the Scita of the Plebs. As far as regarded merely administrative regulations, there was nothing in this contrary to ancient and legitimate usage; the Senatusconsultum Ultimum, so often alluded to, by which the senate gave full powers to the consuls in cases of emergency, was only an extreme application of its undoubted right to secure the efficiency of the executive in every act and movement. The senate pretended, however, still further to the right of annulling the resolutions of the comitia; and here again an extreme instance of its exercise has been more than once noticed, in the release it accorded in special cases from certain laws, if not from the whole cycle of the laws of the commonwealth. To such encroachments the tribes were forced to submit whenever one of their tribunes had been

[1] See Dion, xxxvi. 7. 20., xxxviii. 7.; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 12.; Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 3. p. 58.

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gained by the opposite faction, an event of no uncommon occurrence; but no legitimate right could be established upon any series, however long, of exceptional irregularities, against which the great body of the people had never failed to murmur and protest. Augustus, as the champion of the people, was careful to give full force to their legislative prerogative. Though he generally proposed his measures to the senate, and obtained its formal consent to the ordinances which emanated in fact from the small committee only of its body which he took more closely into counsel with himself, he seems to have always submitted them to the comitia of the centuries also, and obtained for his Julian legislation the sanction of every order of the state.[1] His long and busy reign sufficed to settle the principles of law; and it remained for his successor rather to issue decrees to regulate the details of government, than to make any reconstruction of its essential forms. Hence Tiberius, averse as he was by temper to the multiplication of legal enactments, had little occasion to call into play the full machinery of law-making. With the wider diffusion of the franchise the resident citizens of Rome ceased to represent the interests of the conquering race; while the provincials were assuming more real importance in the eyes of the ruler, and the administration of the provinces, which had always been the function of the senate, became more and more

[1] Heineccius, *Antiq. Roman*, i. tit. 2. 44. Projects of law which had been sanctioned by the senate were afterwards demanded (rogatæ) of the Comitia Centuriata, by which they were ratified as leges. But the Scita of the Comitia Tributa were made equivalent to leges by the lex Hortensia.

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coordinate with the administration of the empire in general. Accordingly, without any ostensible reform, or the direct abolition of the popular prerogative, we find the power of making laws practically withdrawn, under Tiberius, from the comitia of the tribes. Two instances only are known of Leges passed in the regular course under his administration, while the Consulta of the senate are sufficiently numerous.[1] But the rights of the people in this respect were never formally annulled; and even through another century examples are cited of laws passed and ratified according to the forms and usages of antiquity. The decrees of the senate, however, came, at least immediately after Tiberius, to be designated in many cases as laws, and to carry the full force of the more regular enactments.[2]

Transferred to the emperor's senatorial cabinet, and hence

We have in this a second instance of the way in which an appearance of authority was given to the senate, which in fact was a mere idle show. The legislative powers of this assembly were restricted,

[1] The lex Junia Norbana (Gai. i. 22., iii. 56.; Ulp. i. 10.), and the Lex Visellia (Ulp. iii. 5.; Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 3. p. 59.). On the other hand, examples of senatusconsulta constantly occur in Tacitus and Dion. The whole series of the leges Juliæ is a monument of comitial legislation under Augustus.

[2] Thus Ulpian (early in the third century, A.D.) says, Non ambigitur senatum jus facere posse. *Dig.* i. 3. § 9. Asconius had long before specified the cases in which the senate could control the legislative prerogative of the people: Quatuor omnino genera sunt in quibus per senatum more majorum statuatur aliquid de legibus. Unum est ejusmodi, placere legem abrogari: alterum, quæ lex lata esse dicetur ea non videri populum teneri: tertium est de legum derogationibus. The fourth case, which Asconius omits, refers to the *legibus solvere*. Ascon. *in Cornel.* p. 67. ed. Orell. See Rein, *Criminal-Recht der Röm.* p. 62.

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to the emperor himself.

just as the elective, by the real and substantial prerogative of the emperor, supreme alike over all. Much reliance, indeed, cannot be placed upon the assertion of Dion that the senate formally invited Augustus to make what proposals he pleased, and proposed even to bind itself by an oath beforehand to accept them as laws; for in the beginning of the empire the senate could hardly have assumed any such power of dispensing with the concurrence of the popular assembly.[1] That it obsequiously placed its own suffrage at his disposal is credible enough; but even this is to be understood of an extraordinary and momentary abdication of its proper responsibility. Nor in fact did Augustus himself definitively accept it. When, however, he chose himself a cabinet, consisting of a select number of senators, including the consuls and princes of his own family, to confer with on affairs of state, the senate did undoubtedly transfer all its own proper functions to this body, which was in fact a standing committee of its own order, and was considered to represent the wisdom of the whole. The measures which had been discussed and adopted by this conclave were still promulgated before the entire assembly, by which they were accepted with acclamation, and through this channel the prince of the senate acquired unlimited power of legislation. Tiberius, it seems, did not retain this select council. His measures emanated from his own breast alone, except when he chose to take a private counsellor, such as his favourite Sejanus, into his confidence. He convened the fathers to listen to an address

[1] Dion, liv. 10.

from his own mouth, in which he set forth the scope of his plans, and proposed them for the assembly's consideration; or he put up some private member to make the proposition, when he chose to disguise his own inclinations. He introduced also the custom of sending a written dispatch to be read to the assembly in his absence, in which his views on any project of law, proposed by himself or by another, were explained or insinuated.[1] But in all these cases the senate was regarded as competent to discuss and amend, and even, if it had the courage, to reject, though the latter alternative may have never been actually resorted to. There are, however, many instances recorded of individual senators taking exception to the imperial proposition, arguing upon it and even condemning it, and, at least at the commencement of the Tiberian principate, it was deemed a refinement of flattery to affect such freedom of discussion. This, perhaps, is the limit to which the imperial authority extended in the matter of legislation at this period: it was practically complete, but in outward show reached only to recommendation. It must be understood, however, that the senate, in its proneness to adulation, was constantly representing itself as the devoted slave of the Princeps, and the mere registrar of his decrees; accepting, in short, the practice as if it were the law of the time, and satisfying its own pride and dignity by a mental

[1] The epistola or libellus of the Princeps was recited by one of the quæstors, who was called his candidatus. *Digest.* i. 13. § 4.: Ex quæstoribus quidam sunt qui candidati Principis dicuntur, quique epistolas ejus in senatu legunt.

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reservation, to the effect that its concession to its chief was a mere voluntary cession of its undoubted prerogatives, which it might at any time resume, and which, in fact, upon the death of each emperor, reverted *ipso facto* to itself, to be ceded or not to his successor at its own proper pleasure.[1]

III. The criminal jurisdiction of the people and of the senate.

III. In regard to criminal jurisdiction the loss of the popular assemblies was still more complete and signal, while the senate, at least in outward appearance, gained all that the people had lost. From early times there had been a certain rivalry between the two powers in respect to jurisdiction, and the mutual limit of their prerogatives on this point was not strictly defined. The people in their centuries, the assembly in which wealth and station were most fully represented, and not merely numbers, as in the tribes, claimed the ultimate right of deciding on the citizen's *caput*, that is, his civic status, and, at least in political cases, it was before this assembly that the chief magistrates were required to summon offenders. But, on the one hand, the comitia of the tribes encroached gradually on this prerogative; on the other, the senate claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the acts of the citizens in the provinces, and, by some irregular and unexplained usurpation, sometimes within the bounds of Italy also.[2] The last remnant

[1] It was not, I think, till the time of the Antonines, as we shall see hereafter, that the Oratio or Rescriptum of the emperor was referred to in the same terms as a Lex. Comp. *Digest.* xxiii. 2. §§ 57, 58. 60.

[2] This jurisdiction of the senate in the provinces was a part of its administrative competence therein through its officers. Polybius asserts that in his time it had jurisdiction also within the bounds of Italy in cases of treason, conspiracy, and murder. Polyb. vi. 13.; Hoeck. i. 3. p. 63.

of the supreme power originally inherent in the people, was the right of appeal to it, which was always possessed by the criminal in capital cases: though even here too the senate presumed to evade the principle of the law, by declaring in extreme cases the state in danger, and thrusting extraordinary powers into the hands of the consuls. Thus the accomplices of Catilina were brought to trial before the senate, condemned, and executed without benefit of appeal, much to their own astonishment at the vigour of the proceeding, and not without great offence to the people, or at least to their leaders. But throughout the last century of the free state the jurisdiction both of the comitia and the senate was almost completely over-ridden by the institution of the Quæstiones Perpetuæ, the permanent or fixed tribunals, and the old contest between the two political bodies of the commonwealth was exchanged for a competition among its leading classes for admission to these tribunals, or a preponderance in them.

Over-ridden by the fixed tribunals.

The appeal to the people was tacitly extinguished by Augustus, who reserved the right of judgment in the last resort to himself alone, in virtue perhaps of his tribunitian power, by which he was the constituted guardian, and in some sense the vicegerent of the tribes.[1] But both he and still more his next successor invited the senate to take cog-

The appeal transferred from the people to the emperor.

[1] The comitia of the centuries, as has been before remarked, represented the Roman people in their military character, and, therefore, were held, not in the Forum, but beyond the walls: the distinctive meaning and rights of this assembly became extinguished as the citizens ceased to constitute the military force of the republic.

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nisance of many offences which had hitherto been subjected to the jurisdiction of the fixed tribunals. Mæcenas, we are told, advised that all charges against senators, their wives and children, should be referred to the senate alone; and it has been supposed, no doubt too hastily, that the counsels popularly ascribed to this minister indicate the actual course pursued by his master.[1] In this case, however, it would be too much to affirm that either the first or the second Princeps actually transferred from the tribunals to the senate the cognisance of all charges against members of its own body. In Piso's process, for instance, though the culprit was himself a senator, the prosecutors commence their proceedings by invoking the emperor to investigate the affair in person, and he declines the task as inconvenient rather than irregular. He goes on to say in his reply that, in remitting the affair to the judgment of the senate, he evinces his regard to the rank of Germanicus; for in a less conspicuous case the appointed tribunal for murders would have been fully competent to undertake the process.[2] It would appear, however,

Cognizance of charges against senators.

[1] Dion, lii. 31. Hoeck relies on this passage as if it were an express statement of the law or practice under Augustus. It is, however, pretty well understood, as I have elsewhere remarked, that the counsels the historian puts into the mouth of Mæcenas represent more correctly the usage of his own time, *i. e.* the third century.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 12.: Id solum Germanico super leges præstiterimus, quod in curia potius quam in foro, apud senatum quam apud judices, de morte ejus anquiritur. An ordinary case of murder would have been tried by the quæstores homicidii in a basilica adjoining the Forum. The quæstiones perpetuæ were, by legal fiction, committees of the tribes, and the basilicas were the committee-rooms of the Forum, their place of assembly.

that the Questiones, though still existing, were gradually degraded from the high position they held under the republic. The senate received jurisdiction in cases not only of Majestas and Repetundæ, that is, of Treason and Extortion, but of Murder, Poisoning, Bribery, and others: and this was not confined perhaps to charges against members of its own order. A less invidious and at the same time a more brilliant prerogative of this body, however, was that of deciding upon the offences of allies and dependant sovereigns against the interests of the Roman state and its chief. This was a function which the assembly had claimed from an early period, as the executive of the Roman people abroad; nor had it ever been wrested from the senate by the comitia, nor transferred to any special tribunal. On the whole, the senate, from the time of the Tiberian principate, may be described as a high Court of Criminal Jurisdiction of the most comprehensive kind.

The senate under the empire becomes the chief court of criminal jurisdiction.

The Romans, consistently with their inveterate jealousy of all that savoured of monarchical authority, refused to assign the highest judicial competence to any single judge; and when the unwieldy proportions and gross unfairness of such a tribunal as that of the people themselves, assembled in their comitia, became no longer tolerable, they invented, in the Quæstiones Perpetuæ, a sort of virtual representation of themselves by standing committees. The number of members of each of these boards might vary from three or four to twenty or thirty, or even more. Charges of inferior gravity were referred to a commission, consisting nominally of

Paramount jurisdiction of the emperor himself.

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an hundred individuals, but sometimes in reality much exceeding that number. The vital principle of the most perfect systems of modern procedure, which secures the responsibility of the judge by isolating him from the rest of the community, and bringing public opinion to bear upon him from the eminence of his character and position, was abhorrent from the democratical spirit of the Romans, and the fixed idea of their polity, that truth was to be found in the decisions of a majority. These views, however, were irreconcilable with the principles of monarchy; and the emperor had, in fact, no alternative, but either to appoint special judges of mark and eminence enough to make their decisions respected, or to become himself the controller of the decisions of a more numerous and less responsible body. From the moment that judicial competence was spread over the benches of six hundred members of the senate, the concentration of actual jurisdiction in the hands of the chief of the senate became inevitable. It is of little consequence, therefore, to inquire from which of his special functions the Princeps might most logically derive the judicial prerogative which was soon found to attach to him; whether it proceeded from the sovereignty of the people lodged virtually in his person; whether from the military autocracy of the imperium; or whether from the combination of the Consular, the Proconsular, and the Tribunitian powers, each of which undoubtedly conferred jurisdiction in particular cases. Of the first of these hypotheses, it may be remarked that the sovereignty of the people was certainly not at

this period directly and legitimately transferred to the emperor[1]; of the second, that the judicial functions of the imperator were restricted to the camp[2]; and of the last, that the jurisdiction of the three magistracies above named was in each case specifically limited; nor would the combination of all together extend so far as to cover that claimed and exercised by the emperor, which was, indeed, practically unlimited. It may be admitted, however, that it was the jurisdiction of the emperor in these several capacities that gave him his ground of vantage for consolidating his more sweeping pretensions. In proportion as these powers themselves became more extensive, so did the judicial qualification they imparted become less strictly defined. The imperial prerogative of Pardon was an extension or distortion of the tribunitian right of Succour; that of revising or annulling the decrees of the senate was an exaggeration of the privilege of Intercession; and we can imagine how, when the emperor was thus raised above all legitimate principle and usage, both accused and accusers might combine to cast themselves at the

[1] Even at a much later period the basis of the imperial power assumed by Ulpian, after Gaius, is of course a mere legal fiction: Quod populus ei et in eum omnem suam potestatem conferat.

[2] Dion affirms (liii. 17.) that the emperor derived from his imperium the right of putting senators and knights to death within the city. This is one of many passages of this writer of the third century in which he puts the admitted usage of his own day on the footing of earlier and legitimate principles. The practice employed, as we shall see, by Tiberius himself, in the latter part of his reign, was a mere usurpation of the sword, and bore no constitutional sanction. It was precisely for such usurpations as this that the acts of certain of the emperors were formally rescinded by the senate after their deaths.

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foot of the throne, and solicit the arbitration of a judge from whose preeminence they might expect impartiality. The Romans, it must always be remembered, were to the full as impatient in thrusting irregular powers upon their ruler as he was in usurping them.[1] From the combination of both these impulses, the jurisdiction of the senate had become, before the death of the second Princeps, entirely dependant upon his direction; and whenever his interests were at stake, the judicial sentence of the fathers was no other than the expression of his will inspired by himself. In the same way, moreover, the decisions which he pronounced with his own mouth were generally merely the echoes of his private pleasure.[2] Accordingly, except in certain outward show, and the popular estimation thereto attaching, the senate derived little or no advantage from its apparent triumph over the people in the matter of jurisdiction. In this as in other respects it was the mere passive instrument of the emperor's will, and its character became insensibly degraded by the consciousness that all its magnificent pretensions were no better than empty shadows. With a set of high-sounding formulas ever in its mouth, it was, in fact, only blowing bubbles for the amusement of a frivolous populace.—

Supremacy of the em-

Such was the process by which the three sovereign rights of the Roman people were gradually

[1] Hence the memorable expression ascribed to Tiberius himself, with regard to the Roman people: O homines ad servitutem paratos. The sentiment was no doubt commonly in men's mouths. So Cæsar in Lucan: Detrahimus dominos urbi servire paratæ. *Phars.* i. 351.

[2] See Hoeck, i. 3. 68.; citing Suet. *Tib.* 60. 62.; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 70.

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taken from them and transferred in name to the rival body of the senate, but in fact to the emperor himself. Henceforth it depended upon the personal character of the chief of the state whether the government of Rome assumed or not the appearance of that autocratic despotism which it really was, however the fact might be disguised. As regarded the right of jurisdiction, Tiberius continued for the most part to maintain the principle of administration which he had asserted from the first, that of using the senate as the ostensible instrument of his government. He refrained generally, as in the process of Piso, from assuming judicial powers himself, and referred all suitors for his decision to the great assembly of the state. This moderation sufficed to give ample satisfaction to the mass of his subjects. The reform of the rights of election caused but a slight murmur among the people from whom they were finally withdrawn [1]; the abolition of their legislative and judicial competence was accepted without a sign of mortification. The populace of Rome had bidden a final farewell to all its political interests, and it is only from their connexion with politics that the rights of legislation and jurisdiction are ever interesting to the great body of a nation. Meanwhile the senate itself was flattered by the appearance of a victory over the rivals with whom it had waged such long and dubious warfare. It might amuse itself with the idea that it had found a compensation for the disasters of Pharsalia and Philippi,

peror in election, legislation and jurisdiction.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 15.: Neque populus ademptum jus questus est nisi inani rumore.

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and that the chiefs who had been carried into power on the shoulders of the popular party had found it necessary, even in the moment of their elevation, to negotiate the support of the power which they had worsted in the field. But the Princeps had in fact got the senate completely under his influence. The powers of the censure alone, the highest and most venerable perhaps of any functions of administration, gave him, under the fairest disguise, a direct means of controlling it. The sum of twelve hundred thousand sesterces being fixed as the property qualification for a place in the assembly, the emperor encouraged men of birth, whose fortunes had fallen below this standard, to apply to him for an increase of their means: but at the same time he took care to let them feel, by an occasional repulse, accompanied with harsh observations, how entirely a matter of favour such an indulgence would be. After aiding, as it was styled, the census of several of the body, his rejection of the petition of a pauper senator named Hortalus, a grandson of the illustrious Hortensius, caused considerable dismay. How the wealth accumulated by that busiest of advocates had been dissipated, does not appear; but already under the principate of Augustus Hortalus had received a pecuniary gratification, to enable him to marry and rear a family, and maintain the honours of his historic house. Still, however, his steps were dogged by the demon of poverty. Rising in his place in the senate-house, at the open doors of which he had stationed his four sons, and turning himself on the one hand to the bust of Hortensius,

The emperor's control over the senate through the powers of the censorship.

Petition of a pauper senator.

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conspicuous among the images which adorned the hall, on the other to that of Augustus, he addressed a speech to Tiberius entreating him to afford him the succour he required, in the names both of the one and the other. But whether from a settled policy of degrading the representative of a great republican name, or from personal dislike, or, as Tacitus himself insinuates, merely from a spirit of surly opposition to the manifest inclination of the senators around him, Tiberius not only rejected the application, but stigmatized it as presumptuous and importunate. *The divine Augustus*, he said, *gave you money spontaneously, not upon solicitation, nor did he mean to bind himself or me to repeat the same liberality on all occasions.* He consented, however, to gratify the senate by making a trifling present to the children; after which he made no further effort to save the rapid decline and degradation of their house.[1]

The emperor's control over the senate by the law of Majestas.

This control over the senate was still further assured by the right of its Princeps to convene it at his own pleasure on extraordinary occasions, as well as to prorogue its ordinary sittings. If he could not legitimately require it to affirm every proposition he placed before it, he was enabled at least to defeat at once any motion that was disagreeable to him, either by dissolving the assembly, or even by putting his veto upon the transaction. The utmost liberty it continued to possess extended not to acts, but merely to language, if the indistinct murmurs and interjectional sarcasms which were occasionally heard within its walls could be

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 37, 38.

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dignified with such an appellation. But every such indication of an independent opinion, however disguised and smothered, was watched with a jealousy which the substance of power never allowed to slumber, and the law of Majestas or Treason, which Tiberius brandished over the heads of his counsellors, was an instrument of flexible and searching application for unveiling their hidden sentiments, no less than for controlling their conduct.

Origin of the law of Majestas.

Majestas, according to the Ovidian apologue, was the daughter of Dignity and Respect, who first after the dispersion of primeval chaos taught the rules of courtesy to the rude and undisciplined Divinities.[1] Ages rolled away, and when the Giants rose in arms to restore universal anarchy, Jove overthrew them with his bolts, and defended the majesty of the gods, never again to be presumptuously assailed. Hence, she ever sits beside him; she cherishes and protects him; the awe inspired by her influence makes his sceptre to be obeyed without force of arms. She has descended also upon the earth. Romulus and Numa acknowledged and adored her; nor less did their successors, each in his own generation. She it is that makes our fathers and mothers to be respected; she attends upon our youths; she protects our virgins; she commends to the consul his fasces and

[1] Ovid, *Fast.* v. 23:

Donec Honos placidoque decens Reverentia vultu
Corpora legitimis imposuere toris.

Honos and Reverentia are correlatives: the one is the honourable station or office, the other the respect due to it.

ivory chair; finally, she rides aloft on the laurelled chariot of the imperator.[1] Such was the language by which a flatterer of Augustus might divert the imagination of his countrymen from the idea of the abstract majesty of law and constitutional principle, to that of the glory which surrounded the person of the Ruler, and lead it onward from the recollection of kings and consuls to the contemplation of the emperor himself, over whom all the ensigns of office were suspended. Under the empire the law of majesty was the legal protection thrown round the person of the chief of the state: any attempt against the dignity or safety of the community became an attack upon its glorified representative. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the first legal enactment which received this title, half a century before the foundation of the empire, was actually devised for the protection, not of the state itself, but of a person dear to the state, namely, the tribune of the people. Treason to the state indeed had long before been known, and defined as Perduellio, the levying of war against the commonwealth. Laws upon this subject, thus entitled, had existed from the time of the kings. But the crime of majesty was first specified by the demagogue Appuleius, in an enactment dating from the year 654, for the purpose of guarding or exalting the dignity of the champion of the Plebs. Any attempt against the prerogatives of this popular officer was declared to be an assault upon the greatness and

The lex Appuleia, A.U. 654.

[1] Ovid, l. c.:

Illa datos fasces commendat, eburque curule;
Illa coronatis alta triumphat equis.

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dignity of the commonwealth itself: to detract from the majesty of the tribune was an offence which the new law smote with the penalties of high treason.[1]

The lex Varia: the lex Cornelia.

The law of Appuleius was followed by that of another tribune, Varius, conceived in a similar spirit. But it was the object of Sulla, in the ample and methodized scope of his Cornelian constitution, to withdraw the definition of majesty from a mere offence against public officers, to attempts upon the general interests of the commonwealth. The dictator conceived and embodied, in the spirit of a proud republican, the noble sentiment of a patriot of our own, that *There is on earth a far diviner thing, Veiled though it be, than parliament or king.* He recalled men's minds from the vulgar personifications to which democracy naturally inclines, to the higher abstractions of an enlightened political wisdom. The distinction between Majestas and Perduellio henceforth vanishes: the crime of Treason is specifically extended from acts of violence to measures calculated to bring the state into con-

[1] Among the numerous treatises upon this subject I have particularly referred to some chapters in the work of Rein, on the Criminal Law of the Romans. He assigns the date of the lex Appuleia to 654 U.C., not 652. The personal application of the law appears in a passage of Cicero (*De Invent.* ii. 17.): Majestatem minuisti quod tribunum pl. de templo deduxisti; but the more general definition of the crime is given in the *Ad Herenn.* ii. 12.: Majestatem is minuit, qui ea tollit, ex quibus civitatis amplitudo constat (*e. g.* suffragia populi, magistratus, comitium, even pontes disturbare). Again, the two branches of the crime are combined in one view (*De Invent.* ii. 17.): Majestatem minuere est, de dignitate, aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare: or once more, Aliquid de re publica, quum potestatem non habeas, administrare. Rein, *Crim.-Recht der Römer*, p. 509.

tempt. It is made to include not only acts of commission, but many cases of the neglect or imperfect performance of duty.[1] It is now majestas in a public officer, not only if he wages war without due authority from the state, or betrays his trust to the enemy, or foments sedition among the citizens or mutiny among the soldiers; but if he shrinks from asserting to the full the prerogative of his office, whether military or civil, or forbears to deliver his prisoners to the proper authorities for punishment or ransom.[2] To remove or overthrow any public monument of the glory of the commonwealth, such as a statue or a trophy, might afford ground for a charge of this nature, as wounding the pride of the nation or touching its honour.[3]

The motive for Cæsar's legislation on the subject of majestas, in which he went further into details than Sulla, but in no respect diverged from his principles, was no other perhaps than a determination to obliterate every monument of the usurpation of the senate, and its redoubted dictator. Cæsar was the hereditary antagonist of Sulla, and, to complete the full cycle of his rivalry,

[1] Thus, on the words of Cicero against Verres (2 *Verr.* i. 33.), Quid imminuisti jus legationis, the Pseudo-Asconius remarks (Orell. p. 182.): Qui potestatem suam in administrando non defenderit, imminuti magistratus veluti majestatis læsæ reus est.

[2] Cæsar's juvenile act of audacity in punishing his captive pirates, and refusing to deliver them to his superior officer, was a defiance of the Cornelian law of Majestas. See above, ch. iii. (Vol. I. 107.).

[3] This is one of the charges Cicero brings against Verres (2 *Verr.* iv. 41.), of which he affirms, Est majestatis quod imperii nostri gloriæ rerumque publicarum monumenta evertere atque asportare ausus est.

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it was necessary that he should emulate his predecessor in legislation as well as in arms and administration. The provisions of the lex Julia upon this subject have been generally preserved to us by the jurists of the later empire; but we are not perhaps quite competent to decide how far the law, as it came from Julius himself, was modified by his next successors. It is still a disputed point whether Augustus promulgated any distinct lex Julia of his own upon Majestas; though there is no question that in some respects he extended that of his predecessor, including in his definition the publication of written pasquinades against the emperor, as an indirect mode of bringing the person of the ruler into contempt, and smoothing the way for disaffection and resistance. This is perhaps the only trace of any desire on the part of the two first emperors to give the law any special application for their own protection; and even in the Cornelian law some provision seems to have been made to check the licence of railing against the constituted authorities.[1]

The lex Julia de Majestate.

Provisions of the Julian Law of Majesty.

It will be important, for the just appreciation of later usage in respect to this grave offence, the highest, except sacrilege, known to the Roman law, to place before our eyes a comprehensive sketch of the Julian enactments regarding it. Majestas, then, was defined to be injury to the state: — 1., in respect of its public enemies, as by the surrender of cities or persons, the abetting or assisting them in their enterprises, desertion to

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* iii. 11.: Et si Sulla voluit ne in quemvis impune declamare liceret.

them, cowardice in action against them, and the like: 2., in respect of its internal constitution, as by illicit combinations, clubs, and conspiracies, or more openly by sedition and riot: 3., in respect of its officers, as when one magistrate encroached upon the functions of another, or withheld from his successor the forces of his province, or released a criminal from punishment, or made war without the authority of the state; or, again, where one compassed the death of a public officer, or wrested from him his prerogatives: 4., from the falsification of the public documents.—It was necessary to the establishment of the crime to prove the criminal intention; but the attempt was held to be equally obnoxious to the law as the act itself, and the accomplice by aid or counsel was amenable to the same punishment as the principal.[1] This punishment was simple and uniform. It consisted in the interdiction of fire and water, which was practically equivalent to banishment, and was attended with confiscation of property, being the same penalty which attached to the more ancient crime of perduellio.[2] The trial of charges of this kind was regularly reserved for one of the special tribunals. During the brief period of Cæsar's power it does not appear that this tribunal was

Reserve of Augustus in its application.

[1] See Rein (*Criminal-Recht*, pp. 518—528.), chiefly from the writings of the jurists. Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 72.) states the principle of the law: Si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica majestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 50.: Bonis amissis aqua et igni arceatur: quod perinde censeo ac si lege majestatis tenerctur. Comp. iii. 38. 68., iv. 42.; Paulus, v. 29. 1.

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ever called into action. Trials for majesty were few even under the long principate of his successor. Augustus carefully abstained from the employment of an engine which he well knew must, from the nature of things, tend to fix in men's minds a sharp distinction between the chief of the state and the state itself. The sacredness which attached to the Tribunitian office, now vested in himself, could not fail to raise the person of the ruler above the abstract ideas of constitutional principle; but he was anxious not to precipitate the moment when the people of Rome should regard the law of treason merely as a device for the emperor's security. He felt himself protected by many other and stronger safeguards; while the chief danger of his position actually lay in the risk of his disguise being torn too rudely from him.

Under Tiberius protection demanded for the person of the emperor.

It has been already shown how the natural policy of Tiberius pointed in another direction. The second Princeps required special guarantees for his security. Accordingly, from the very commencement of his reign, we mark a change in popular opinion, which he fostered and encouraged. The person of the emperor begins now to be the great subject of the law of treason: though not formally so pronounced, the idea that the emperor is himself the state begins to predominate in the national feeling over every other. The emperor is now in the world what the Gods are in Olympus, a being to be reverenced and feared simply for himself, without regard to his attributes, or the qualities he may be supposed to embody. Attempts upon his life become heinous deeds, only to be compared

with sacrilege against the blessed Divinities. Not only such overt acts, however, but any line of conduct or behaviour which would be construed into the compassing of his death, became involved in the crime and penalties of treason. Rome was full of soothsayers or magicians, who pretended, by casting horoscopes or evoking dead men's spirits, to communicate a knowledge of future events. By playing upon the credulous cupidity of heirs or fortune-hunters these impostors acquired wealth and consideration. In the age of Catullus, a wicked parent might *wish* for the death of his son, or the son disclaim all sorrow for the loss of his parent; but in the next generation Ovid could represent the guilty spendthrift as *inquiring into the years* of the sire who stands between himself and fortune.[1] To inquire thus into the years of the emperor, to explore, that is, the secret of his destined term of life, was now reputed treasonable: there must be, it was argued, some stronger motive for such an inquiry than mere indecent curiosity: the man who sought to ascertain beforehand the day of the emperor's doom must have some illicit interest in the dire event; he must cherish the hopes of a traitor in his heart.[2] Not only pasquinades and

[1] Compare, among the signs of human degeneracy in Catullus, Cat. liv. 401.:

Destitit extinctos natus lugere parentes:
Optavit genitor primævi funera nati . . . . .

with Ovid, *Metam.* i. 148.:

Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.

[2] Paulus, v. 21. 3.: Qui de salute principis vel de summa reipublicæ mathematicos . . . consulit, cum eo qui responderit capite punitur. Tertull. *Apol.* 35.: Cui opus est perscrutari super Cæsaris

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injurious publications of every kind directed against the emperor were now comprehended in the qualification of majestas, but also abusive and insulting language, which Augustus had so magnanimously tolerated. The two first Cæsars, and generally the best and wisest of their successors, allowed ample licence to the tongue, in the freedom of which the Romans continued to demand indulgence long after they had surrendered all independence of action.[1] This licence of language was fostered by the manner of their education. We have seen how they were brought up from childhood as gladiators in the arena of debate and declamation: fence of tongue was the weapon with which they were to maintain against every assailant their honour, their fortunes, and their lives. Readiness of speech and ease in the handling of the weapons of retort and sarcasm were carried from the schools of rhetoric to the tribunals or the Forum, and again from the places of their public exercise to the private re-union at the assembly or the banquet.

Licence of language in use among the Romans.

salute, nisi a quo aliquid adversus illum cogitatur vel optatur aut post illum speratur et sustinetur?

[1] The laws of the twelve tables had specified defamatory writings, or publication generally, as one kind of Injuria; but the excessive severity of the penalty, which was no less than death, seems to show that the crime was not practically visited at all. The disuse of this process gave occasion for the prætors to issue notices against libel in their edicts, and one or two cases occur, under the free state, of actions for slander, for satirical writings, or misrepresentations on the stage. Fines and civil infamy were the penalties now attached to this offence. Sulla, and after him Augustus, legislated specifically upon the subject of the famosi libelli; confining themselves, however, to writings only, and allowing full licence to merely oral abuse. For the proceedings of Augustus, see Suet. *Oct.* 51.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 72. See this subject fully discussed by Rein, pp. 354—385.

Scurrility of language was indeed a national characteristic of the Italians, and was common to all classes alike: it extended from the senators and knights to the lowest of the populace; it startled alike the decorum of patrician nuptials and enlivened the humours of the Saturnalia. The coarse ribaldry of the Fescennine farces embodied the same spirit of unbounded personality which glows in the polished sentences of Cicero, or flashes from the point of an epigram of Catullus. According to Roman habits of thought, and agreeably perhaps to the theory of the Roman polity, the private life and habits of the citizen were as much the property of his fellow countrymen as his conduct in public affairs. His domestic vices were charged against him as crimes against society, and an accusation of bribery or extortion was habitually introduced by a pretended exposure of sins of lewdness or intemperance. This licence of personal defamation was the birthright of the free Roman, of which he was often more jealous than of his independence of thought and action. He might subject himself to the arbitrary authority of a tribune or a dictator without a murmur, as long as he was permitted to retort upon them with jests and scandalous anecdotes. It seems impossible that any government could maintain itself upon the basis of popular opinion without repressing these extravagant excesses. When the chief of the state was raised to an eminence from which he could not descend into the arena of personal controversy, it became a necessary act of policy to

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restrain the licence of attack by measures of adequate severity.[1]

Conduct of Augustus and Tiberius with respect to injurious language.

Two accounts are given us of the provocation which induced Augustus to extend or restore the laws against defamatory writings. On the one hand, we are told that he was offended by the licentiousness of a writer named Cassius Severus, who lashed the most illustrious of the citizens of both sexes indiscriminately.[2] We may infer, therefore, from this statement, that the emperor now afforded the protection of the law to women as well as to men, which was probably a novelty; at least, the principle of the original laws of libel was founded on the civil dignity of the citizen, to which a woman could lay no claim.[3] On the other hand, it is stated that he was moved to this course by an attack made upon himself by Junius Novatus, a partisan of the unfortunate Agrippa. If this be true, it will appear that the confirmation of the law must have been among the latest acts of the aged emperor's reign.[4] In either case, it does not appear that the first Princeps gave himself any other protection in this particular than what he

[1] On one occasion Augustus threatened to retort: Faciam sciat Ælianus et me linguam habere; plura enim de eo loquar: but he abstained nevertheless from committing himself to the unequal encounter. Suet. *Oct.* 51.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* i. 72.: Commotus Cassii Severi libidine qui viros fœminasque illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat.

[3] Injuria was anything which unfavourably affected the public estimation of a citizen, and consequently his power of serving the state. But Augustus treated Defamation not as Injuria, but as Majestas, the greater scope of which enabled him to throw the shield of the law over illustrious women also.

[4] Suet. *Oct.* l. c.

allowed to every citizen. As regarded himself, he is said to have been very mild in prosecuting or punishing this offence, and to have refused to make any inquiry into mere oral invectives.[1] Very different, however, was the conduct in this respect of his uneasy successor. The awkward and ungenial manners of Tiberius had been an early subject of ill-natured remark: he was already accused of gross intemperance, against which many pungent epigrams were directed.[2] But as he rose in eminence and power, the attacks upon him assumed a more serious form, impugning his character as a ruler, imputing to him cruelty beyond the law, and pride inconsistent with the position even of the first of the citizens. The disagreement which was insinuated to subsist between the Princeps and his august mother might appear to enter too much behind the veil of the imperial privacy, and threaten to draw forth into too strong a light the secrets of the palace.[3] It was probably at his first accession

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 55. He contented himself, according to this writer, with contradicting by proclamation some of these attacks, and forbade the senate to prohibit by a decree the introduction of posthumous abuse of the emperor in wills. But Dion (lvi. 27.) says that he caused some libels against him to be burnt, and punished the writers.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 42. The supposed fragment quoted by Burmann is in fact this passage of Suetonius versified:

Exinde plebs Quiritium vocavit
Non Claudium Tiberium Neronem,
Sed Caldium Biberium Meronem.

Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 59.:

Fastidit vinum quia jam sitit iste cruorem;
Tam bibit hunc avide quam bibit ante merum.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* i. 72.: Hunc quoque asperavere carmina, incertis auctoribus vulgata, in sævitiam superbiamque ejus, et discordem cum matre animum. We may conceive the effect on prince and people of

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to power that, on the prætor demanding of him whether he should appoint, at the commencement of his year of office, the members of the special commission for majesty, he evaded the question with a general reply. He did not intend to allow these cases to fall under the jurisdiction of any independent tribunal, but to reserve them for the cognisance of the senate, his own instrument; or perhaps at this time he had not really determined what course he should pursue. At first he met such accusations with a magnanimity worthy of a great monarch: *Let them hate me,* he was heard to exclaim, *as long as in their hearts they respect me;* but unfortunately he could not maintain this elevation of sentiment, and the bitterness and ferócity with which he presently revenged himself upon his detractors were supposed to prove that the charges against him were pointed with the fatal sting of truth.[1]

Crime of Majesty extended from writings to words.

When, however, it once became known that the new Princeps was jealous of his estimation in the eyes of the citizens, and would not suffer himself or his position to be disparaged by railing defamation, there were many to urge him forwards on his course, and impel him beyond the bounds he may

such an epigram as the following placarded on the walls of a modern European capital:

Aspice felicem sibi non tibi, Romule, Sullam:
Et Marium si vis aspice, sed reducem:
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis,
Nec semel infectas aspice cæde manus:
Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit sanguine multo
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exsilio.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 42.: Oderint dum probent: dein vera certaque esse ipse fecit fidem.

have originally prescribed to himself. It was impossible to maintain any clear distinction between the guilt of written and merely spoken libels. It might be said, indeed, that the one admitted of direct proof, while the other could only be prosecuted on the perilous ground of hearsay evidence; or that the one argued deliberate and prepense intention, the other might be a momentary ebullition of thoughtless spleen; or, lastly, that the one was a crime recognised by the ancient laws, the other was not less expressly countenanced by them as a privilege of the Roman freeman. But all these considerations gave way, and not unjustly, to the conviction that the malice might be the same, the injury equal in either case, and that common sense and equity demanded that they should both be brought under the same category of crime. Tiberius found himself encouraged, not by courtiers only, but by jurists and philosophers, in extending the definition of majesty from writings to words; and in so doing, he only carried out a sound and reasonable principle. But this was not all. It was easy to see that there might be many other ways of bringing the person of the sovereign into contempt, besides either writings or words. The same jurists who could not blind themselves to the logical sequence from the one of these to the other, found themselves at a loss to distinguish from them a great variety of actions, some of them monstrous and many merely ridiculous. Thus Falanius, a knight of obscure or moderate position, was accused of disrespect to the Princeps, amounting to the guilt of treason, inasmuch as he had admitted a

Constructive majesty. Case of Falanius

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low and profligate actor to assist in the celebration of the rites of the deified Augustus. Another personage of the same class, named Rubrius, was charged with having forsworn himself in the name of that illustrious divinity, and again, in selling a villa, of allowing the sacred image to be sold along with it. It was pretended that disrespect towards the deceased Cæsar was an injury to his living successor. But Tiberius refused to subscribe to this doctrine. He wrote a letter to the consuls in favour of the accused, asserting that Livia herself, in exhibiting games in her husband's honour, had not deemed it requisite to inquire into the life and manners of all the professional people she employed; adding that perjury in the name of Augustus was no more a subject for human laws than the violation of an oath to Jupiter; and ending with the memorable aphorism, profane perhaps in the mouth of any one not himself next of kin to divinity, that the gods might fairly be left to mind their own honour.[1] About the same time a man of higher rank and character, named Granius Marcellus, apparently a connexion of the imperial house, who was then prætor of Bithynia, was accused by an officer of his own staff of having uttered in conversation some reflections on the emperor's personal habits; an offence which, we are assured, it was impossible to refute, so strong was the presumption against any man of having remarked upon the profligacy which was patent and notorious to all the world. But a more specific charge

and Rubrius A.D. 15. A.U. 768.

Case of Granius Marcellus.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 73.: Jusjurandum perinde æstimandum quam si Jovem fefellisset: Deorum injuriæ Dîs curæ.

against the prætor was that of having placed his own effigy in a higher and more conspicuous place than those of the Cæsars, which, as remotely connected with his family, adorned the hall of his mansion: it was even suggested, as an impious flattery at which the modesty of the emperor would revolt, that he had taken off the head of an image of Augustus, and replaced it with that of his living successor. In this case also Tiberius rebuked the officious zeal of the prosecutor. The culprit was acquitted of the charge of treason; but he happened to be lying at the same time under a charge of extortion in his province, and upon this the senate was permitted to condemn him.[1]

Case of Lutorius Priscus.

But of all the charges of this nature preferred at this period, none was more extravagant than that against Lutorius Priscus, a knight who had obtained a great success with some verses he had composed on the death of Germanicus. Tiberius himself, relaxing from his usual reserve and parsimony, had rewarded the well-timed compliment with an imperial largess. On the occasion of an illness which occurred to Drusus, the poet was tempted to try the fortune of his muse again, and prepared a second dirge, in anticipation of a second demise in the Cæsarean family. Drusus recovered; but the vanity of the author prevailed over prudence and propriety, and he recited his verses before a fashionable audience. The matter was immediately noised abroad, an information was laid against the culprit, and on the motion of Haterius, a consul designate, the senate condemned him to death as guilty

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 74.

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of speculating upon a Cæsar's death, and therefore, by an easy inference, of compassing it by his wishes and prayers. Of the senators two only ventured to excuse him on the ground of thoughtlessness and levity: exile they would have regarded as a sufficient punishment for a fault which could hardly be expected to find imitators. But their representations were unavailing. The wretched man was dragged to prison and immediately strangled. Tiberius, who was absent from Rome at the time, was mortified at this sanguinary proceeding, and still more, perhaps, at the indecent haste with which it had been conducted. Refraining from any direct censure of Haterius, or the senate generally, he contented himself with praising the sentiments of the more merciful minority, and decreed that from henceforth an interval of ten days should always elapse between sentence and execution, to give scope for the exercise of pardon. This considerate provision continued in force not only during the government of Tiberius, but under his successors also.[1]

Case of Ennius. A. D. 22. A. U. 775.

But the senate pretended, in its servile adulation to feel grieved at the restraint which the Princeps thus imposed upon its headlong zeal in defence of his dignity. A knight named L. Ennius was soon afterwards denounced for having melted down an

[1] For the story of Lutorius Priscus, see Tac. *Ann.* iii. 49—51., under the date A.U. 774. A.D. 21. Dion (in lvii. 15.) relates that a certain Vibius Rufus prided himself on possessing two great curiosities, the relict of Cicero, and the chair in which Cæsar was slain, as if the one could make him an orator, and the other an emperor; and seems to think it showed great moderation in Tiberius to overlook such a treasonable imagination.

image of the emperor, and converted it into plate for the service of the table. On this occasion Tiberius peremptorily forbade proceedings to be instituted. Thereupon, Ateius Capito, now grown grey in reputation as the most eminent jurist of the day, assumed the tone of injured liberty, and complained that the Fathers should be debarred from the free exercise of their undoubted right of judgment: the crime, he declared, was a grave one, and however mild he might be in avenging a private wrong, he for one could not suffer the majesty of the republic to be assailed with impunity. Tiberius knew the man, the hoary apologist for the Cæsarean usurpation, and could appreciate at its proper value this empty show of zeal for independence. He paid no regard to the objection, but persisted in his interference; not displeased at the jealousy with which the jurist was henceforth more generally regarded, who thus disgraced his own name, and degraded in the eyes of the citizens the dignity of constitutional science.[1]

Case of Silanus. A.D. 22. A.U. 775.

Such, indeed, was the proneness of the senate to this mode of flattery, that no public charge against an illustrious citizen seems to have been thought complete, unless it was coupled with the imputation of disrespect towards the emperor.[2] Thus about the same time we hear of Silanus, proconsul of Asia, being accused by his provincials of extortion; but no sooner was the impeachment set forth,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 70. For the character of Ateius Capito, see above, chap. xxxiii. vol. iv. p. 50. note.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 38.: Postulaverat repetundis, addito majestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat.

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than a consular, an ædile, and a prætor started up with some other vague charges against him, as that he had *profaned the divinity of Augustus, and disparaged the majesty of Tiberius.* In the trial which followed the Princeps seems to have disdained to take notice of these accessory incriminations. The case against Silanus was sufficiently clear. He had not the courage or the eloquence to defend himself, but threw himself despairingly upon the emperor's clemency, and the dignity of his own family, for protection. Tiberius, however, fortified by the conduct of Augustus in a case of similar guilt, and glad to gratify the popular sentiment by making an example of so noble a culprit, encouraged the senate to proceed to sentence against him; and when it decreed the punishment of relegation to an island, interfered only to mitigate the penalty by naming Cythera as the place of confinement, instead of the more inhospitable rock of Gyarus.[1]

Cases of Appuleia and Lepida. A.D. 17. A.D. 20.

Tiberius had exhibited similar magnanimity in two previous cases, which are reserved to be mentioned together, because they relate to women; for political charges against women were a new feature in Roman procedure. Appuleia Varilia was a connexion of the imperial family, being a granddaughter of Octavia; as such, the crime of adultery, with which she was charged, became an offence against the law of Majesty. But to enhance her guilt, expressions of disrespect towards Augustus and Tiberius, and even against Livia, were imputed to her. Upon the first andprincipal

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 66—69.

charge the emperor was satisfied with referring the prosecutors to the Julian law of adultery: he refused to listen to the charge of disrespect towards himself and his mother; the insinuation of an offence against the sanctity of Augustus he would alone permit to be made the subject of inquiry. This last charge speedily fell to the ground; but the licentiousness of an illustrious matron, which was amply proved, was decorously punished with removal beyond the two hundredth milestone.[1] Nearly similar to this was the case of Lepida, who combined with her Æmilian ancestry a connexion with the Sullan and Pompeian houses, and who was esteemed of sufficient political importance to be subjected to charges of adultery and poisoning, aggravated by inquiries through the Chaldean soothsayers into the destinies of the imperial family. In this instance, also, we find Tiberius exercising great moderation as regarded the charges which affected himself, first desiring the senate to dismiss them altogether, and when it nevertheless persisted, forbidding the examination of the culprit's slaves against her. She was ultimately convicted on the other accusations, and interdicted fire and water; but even then, the confiscation of her estates, which should properly have followed, was remitted.[2]

The injustice Tiberius has done to his own reputation.

Such was the moderation of Tiberius for several years from the commencement of his reign, in regard to all charges which affected his own person and position; such was the difficulty in which he was placed by the overweening zeal of flatterers,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 50. [2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 22, 23.

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and still more by the ambition or cupidity of grave and noble senators, who sought distinction or profit from the trade of criminal accusation. Tiberius himself, besides the desire he manifested for the attainment of substantial justice, was admitted on all hands to be free from the sordid vices so common among his countrymen. He was, to use the strong but rough expression of Tacitus, *firm enough against money*.[1] But if he has failed to obtain from history all the justice in other respects which he sought to obtain for his people, the cause lay partly in himself, and in the peculiar infirmity into which his excess of zeal betrayed him. The mind of Tiberius was characterized by a certain painful preciseness: he was possessed with the litigious spirit which insists upon its presumed rights, in disregard of every consequence or effect which makes the exercise of such rights valuable or the contrary. He was deficient in breadth of view, and sought in vain to compensate for it by subtlety and acuteness. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that the general and statesman, the chief of innumerable armies, and the head of a confederacy of nations, was moreover a purist in his use of language, and fond of disputing with the grammarians on the exact meaning of words, full of notes and queries on the most trifling and puerile subjects of literary curiosity, in which certainly truth could not be attained, and as certainly was not worth the attaining.[2] Tiberius carried in short to the throne

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 18.: Satis firmus adversum pecuniam.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 70.: Affectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat

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the temper of a pedant, and a pedant on the throne is in danger of becoming a tyrant. Hence the encouragement he unfortunately gave to the criminal informers, or delators; an encouragement which he soon acknowledged to be pernicious, and withdrew in dismay, till the distrust and apprehensions of increasing years drove him again into the same fatal course. The delator was properly a man who gave notice to the fiscal officers of moneys that had become due to the treasury of the state, or more strictly to the emperor's fiscus.[1] The title was first extended from this narrow sphere to persons who lodged information in case of any offences which were punishable by fine; and when Augustus undertook to legislate comprehensively on the subject of marriage, its obligations and its violations, he was induced, by the great difficulty of executing the provisions of an unpopular enactment, to subsidize by pecuniary rewards informers against its trangressors.[2] It was the aim of Augustus to attach every citizen to some peculiar branch of industry: wherever he could he gave direct occupation; in many other cases he indirectly pointed out where it might be found. He now called into existence a new employment, though he did not himself live to see its progress and development. Many were the

His encouragement of the delators or criminal informers.

stylum . . . . monopolium nominaturus prius veniam postulavit. Dion (lvii. 15.) says that he suffered a project of law to drop rather than use a Greek word for which there was no Latin equivalent. Comp. also, the story of Capito, in lvii. 17., and Suet. *de Illustr. Gramm.* 22.

[1] See Rein, *Criminal-Recht*, p. 814. note.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28.: Inditi custodes, et lege Papia Poppæa præmiis inducti.

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knights and senators who now learnt to make a traffic of their eloquence and accomplishments, in the service of the emperor, by the vindication of his unpopular laws. They reaped their reward not in money only,—though a portion of the pecuniary mulct fell regularly to their share, and the senate not rarely decreed them a special remuneration,—but in political distinction also, and even in a notoriety akin to fame. Their love of power was amply gratified, when they saw the criminal, a man perhaps of the noblest birth and highest position, quail before their well-known energy and audacity, and desist from a hopeless contest with their acknowledged powers of persuasion. Feared by the great, they became the patrons and champions of the people, who were always ready to behold in the attack upon noble offenders a vindication of popular rights and principles. They acquired in the Forum some portion of the consideration which attached of old to the sturdy independence of the tribunes, while they were thrust into the favour and confidence of the Princeps, or at least of his nearest advisers, in the palace. The trade of the delator became thus, under bad emperors, the broad and beaten track of a crafty ambition.[1]

Passion of the Romans for accusation.

But this infamous practice became so marked a feature in Roman society, and affected so painfully the imaginations of the people, that it will be well to spend a few moments here in depicting to ourselves its action more widely. We must

[1] On the rewards of the delators, see Suet. *Tib.* 61.; Dion, lviii. 14.; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32., iv. 30., vi. 47.

trace it back, like every other pest of the imperial times, to its first origin under the republic, when the evil inherent in its principle was disguised or even ennobled by loftier aims, and by the freshness of its growth in an atmosphere of freedom. The liberty of the Roman citizen, the prime jewel of his existence, was to be maintained at any price. It was maintained by a system of universal terrorism. Every citizen was invited to watch over the conduct of his compatriots, and to menace every deviation from the path of civil virtue with a public accusation. Every young noble was trained in the art of pleading, partly to enable him, when his own turn came, to defend himself, but primarily to furnish him with weapons of offence, and thereby with the means of self-advancement. Rhetoric was an instrument of power, by which he might expect to make himself admired by the people, and feared by competitors of his own class. He fought his way to public honours on the floor of the law-courts, dragging successively from their benches the tribunes, the prætors, and the consuls, before whom he first began his career of eloquence. The intrigues and treasons of the men in power did not always suffice to furnish victims for this mania of impeachment: it was necessary to extend the inquisition into the provinces, and summon before the bar of Roman opinion the governors who had sinned, if not against the laws of the republic against those at least of humanity and justice. To interest the citizens, to inflame their passions,

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to bias their judgments on the subject of crimes thus perpetrated on remote provincials, required a great accession of eloquence and art; but the genius and industry of the young advocates and their teachers kept pace with every demand upon them. Feelings of party were appealed to in the place of genuine patriotism. The truth of the accusation was found to be of little importance; it was the great triumph of the rhetorician, not unfrequently gained, to baffle and trample down the interests of a political faction, without regard to the intrinsic merits of the case. The young orator, who at the age of nineteen or twenty years could sway the votes of a bench of judges against some veteran proconsul grown grey in the service of the state, was marked as sure to rise to the highest political eminence.[1] The energy and aggressive spirit of the Romans was ever conspicuous in the toga no less than in the sagum; they preferred the attack to the defence in the forum as well as in the field.

The want, under the empire, of great and interesting topics for eloquence.

It was the glory of Cicero that he abstained in his early career, while yet his fame was to be acquired, from this common routine of prosecution, and sought the less dazzling career of a pleader for the accused. Yet in the most glowing of his effusions, both in public and personal causes, he appears as the assailant; and neither humanity nor policy

[1] Thus Crassus maintained an accusation at nineteen years, Cæsar at twenty-one, Pollio at twenty-two. Tac. *de Orat.* 34.; Quintil. *Inst.* xii. 6. On this subject, see some brilliant paintings in Champagny's *Césars*, i. 236.

prevent him from declaring himself the enemy of the man against whom he seeks to enlist the prejudices of his hearers.[1] The Romans made no scruple of avowing their personal animosities; the spirit of revenge with them was a virtue which a man would affect if he had it not.[2] In the heart of the Roman friendship occupied the place of love; it was invested with a sanctity and solemnity of obligation which approached almost to chivalry: but the reaction from it was an enmity not less deeply felt nor less solemnly pronounced: the foe was not less devoted than the friend.[3] Neither shame therefore nor humanity interfered to check this passion for accusation, in which the Romans were to the full as unscrupulous and unfeeling,

[1] There are some curious passages in the speech *de Provinciis Consularibus*, in which Cicero excuses himself for seeming to waive his notorious hostility to Cæsar: 8. Me communis utilitatis habere rationem non doloris mei. 18. Accepi injuriam; inimicus esse debui; non nego. 20. Hoc tempore rei publicæ consulere, inimicitias in aliud tempus reservare deberem.

[2] Tac. *de Orat.* 36.: Assignatæ domibus inimicitiæ. 40. Jus potentissimum quemque vexandi, atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria. *Hist.* ii. 53.: Ut novus adhuc, et in senatum nuper ascitus, magnis inimicitiis clarescceret. Champagny, i. p. 237.

[3] The Duel, the legitimate descendant of private warfare, could have no place in Roman society, which regarded man as the citizen only, an unit in the body corporate. Personal violence was prohibited by law, and even carrying arms was interdicted. The *Cut*, the resource of sullenness and shyness, is, I believe, a strictly English institution; and the formal renuntiation of friendship was the last resource of outraged feeling among the Romans. Thus Germanicus sends Piso a solemn declaration that their friendship is at an end. Tiberius forbids Labeo his house. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 29.: Morem fuisse majoribus, quoties dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo, eumque finem gratiæ ponere. In reply to the common apology for the duel, that it prevents assassination, it may be remarked that assassination was almost unknown to a late period among the Romans.

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though dealing with their own countrymen, as they were in invading the lands of the foreigner. This fearful vice was gilded under the free state by the splendour of the objects to which it was directed, the magnitude of the interests involved, and the abilities and powers of the giants it summoned to the contest.[1] In the atmosphere of liberty it called many corresponding virtues into action; it produced on the whole one of the highest manifestations of human nature, and taking the good with the evil, we may not perhaps be entitled to regret the existence which was permitted to it. But for the same vice, as it appeared under the empire, no such excuse can be offered. Then too, as soon as the young patrician had quitted the schools of the declaimers, he longed to make a trial of his accomplishments, and sought an object on which to flesh the maiden sword of his eloquence. There were no longer party interests into which to throw himself; the class of intriguing politicians no longer existed, whose attempts against the liberties of the commonwealth demanded his vigilance and invited his exposure; the provinces, administered at last on settled principles, and kept under the eye of the central government, afforded still some, but much rarer, cases of public wrong to denounce and avenge. What remained then for the young aspirant to do? how exercise the gifts he had so long been fostering in private, and ventilate in the common air the talents to which schools and saloons had accorded such inspiriting acclamations? The

[1] The reader should refer to the passage of Tacitus *de Orat.*, 34—37., one of the most interesting in ancient literature.

progress of special legislation, diverted as it was from the public to the private career of the Roman, entering into his dwelling and penetrating the recesses of his home life, gave birth to manifold modes of transgression and evasion, such as the prying eyes of a domestic spy alone could track. The government, which might despair of vindicating its authority by the exertions of its own officers, was grateful to the passion for forensic distinction, which now urged the aspirant for fame to drag to light every petty violation of every frivolous enactment. According to the spirit of Roman criminal procedure, the informer and the pleader were one and the same person. There was no public accuser to manage the prosecution for the government on information from whatever sources derived; but the spy who discovered the delinquency was himself the man to demand of the senate, the prætor, or the judge, an opportunity of proving it by his own eloquence and ingenuity. The odium of prosecution was thus removed from the government to the private delator; an immense advantage to a rule of force which pretended to be popular. The common right of accusation, the birthright of the Roman citizen, the palladium, so esteemed, of Roman freedom, became thus the most convenient instrument of despotism. But however odious such a profession might generally make itself, whatever the infamy to which it would be consigned by posterity, those who practised it reaped the reward they sought in money and celebrity, in influence and authority, in the favour of the prince, and not rarely in the applause of the multitude. They could

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wreak their malice upon their private enemies under the guise of zeal for the public service; they might gratify the worst of passions, and exult, under the shadow of the imperial tyranny, in the exercise of a tyranny hardly less omnipotent of their own. The social corruption such a state of things produced grew fast and rankly, and is marked by the swift progress of the contagion from the first raw and ignoble professors to men of real distinction in the state. Beginning with youths fresh from school, or the teachers of rhetoric themselves, it soon spread to magistrates and consulars, and many of the most illustrious statesmen of the early empire were notorious for their addiction to this meanest and most debasing of vices.

Encouragement of delation by Tiberius.

As for Tiberius himself, the fanaticism with which he strove to execute in detail the laws bequeathed to him by his predecessors, induced him early to stoop to the degradation of countenancing the practice of delation. Refusing to bend under the enormous burden of public affairs, and disdaining or fearing to associate with himself any assistant, as Augustus had wisely done from the first, he strove with dogged resolution to make himself familiar with the whole machinery of government, and to take a personal share in all its procedure. He was constant in his attendance upon the judicial trials held by the senate, but only to secure the impartiality of its decisions, and assisted at the tribunals of the magistrates, taking his seat at the extremity of the bench, to avert the suspicion of unfairly influencing them.[1] Delation he prized as

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 33.: Ac primo eatenus interveniebat ne quid perperam

the machinery by which the true ends of justice could, as he imagined, most readily be obtained. When he discovered the vile uses to which it was put, and felt its impolicy and unpopularity, he did not refuse to check and discourage it; and he established a new tribunal of fifteen senators, by the weight of whose character he may have hoped to moderate it, and afford, as was said, some alleviation to the peril and terror of the citizens.[1] Certain it is that the records of the earlier years of the Tiberian despotism abound in evidence of the emperor's solicitude for the pure administration of justice, and the constant struggle in which he was engaged with the reckless spirit of violence and cruelty, of which accusers and judges equally partook. Ultimately his own stedfastness and constancy gave way. He yielded to the torrent which he was no longer able alone to stem. He resigned himself to the sedulous attentions of an evil counsellor, who relieved him by consummate artifice, without his being conscious of it, of great part of his burden, and persuaded him to neglect the rest, and leave the corruption of society to take its course. He was induced to acquiesce in the necessity of the vices he had striven at an early period to resist, and to wrap himself in the selfish conviction that his own imperial safety was the highest object of government. Then came the full development of the occult principles of the law of

fieret .... assidebatque juxtim vel ex adverso in parte primori. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 75.: In cornu tribunalis. Dion, lvii. 7. But, as Tacitus remarks, Dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28.

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treason; then came the fierce and fanatical stimulus which was given to the appetite for delation: the conflagration raged triumphantly over Rome and Italy, involving every noble mansion in its blaze, and overthrowing many to their foundations.[1] It was ruled to be criminal to perform before an effigy of the emperor upon a coin or ring any act which would be indecorous in the presence of the emperor himself, such as to strip a slave for chastisement, or even to strip oneself for the bath; finally, a citizen was condemned to death for entering a brothel with a piece of money on which the imperial countenance was stamped.[2] While the fountain of justice was polluted by founding inquiries into these offences, upon no express laws, but only upon perverse and extravagant deductions from them, the legitimate forms of procedure were no longer carefully preserved. Though in cases of majestas the senate alone was the authorized tribunal, the Princeps gradually claimed to take cognisance of them himself. Tiberius ceased to abide by the ordinary rules of evidence. Augustus himself had evaded the principle of law, that a slave might not be examined by torture against

Extravagances of the law of Majesty.

[1] Tac. l. c.: Urbemque et Italiam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. Comp. *Ann.* i. 73.: Quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte, gravissimum exitium irrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit, cunctaque corripuerit.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 59. It must be remembered that the emperor's was not the only head still stamped upon the current coins. Other members of the Cæsarean family partook of that honour. The gold and silver coinage was imperial, but Augustus allowed the senate to issue the copper currency. The names, however, of the triumviri monetales do not occur on medals after the year 740, according to Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* v. 64.

his master, by causing him to be seized and sold to a public officer, and then stretched as the slave of another on the rack.[1] But even this formality was no longer observed. The penalty of death was frequently substituted for banishment, or the interdiction of fire and water; and the worst precedent of the Sullan proscriptions was sometimes followed, in subjecting the criminal's children to the same fate as himself. The property of the condemned was confiscated: if his life was spared, he might be disqualified from willing; and if he perished before sentence by his own hand, baffled justice might avenge herself by the infliction of posthumous infamy.[2] Upon the case of Ælius Saturninus, who was flung from the Tarpeian rock for a libel upon the emperor, an historian remarks that this was one only of many instances of the infliction of extreme punishment for reflections on the life and habits of Tiberius; upon which he adds, that the Romans marvelled at the impolitic jealousy which thus exposed by public processes details which, whether true or false, acquired from these processes only their general notoriety and acceptance. People, he says, imagined Tiberius must be mad to insist, often against the explicit denial of the accused, that crimes and vices had been imputed to him, which a man of sense would have willingly left unnoticed. But for the wisdom and policy of his general administration, which

A. D. 22. A. U. 775.

[1] Dion, lv. 5.; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 67.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 31. This was called damnatio memoriæ. Suetonius crowns this confusion of law and justice by saying, Omne crimen pro capitali receptum.

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was still patent to the world, this hypothesis of insanity would have received general assent: as it was, his conduct in this respect could only be viewed as a strange example of human inconsistency. The particulars, however, of these charges, thus scrupulously and minutely detailed in the language of legal procedure, were preserved among the records of the state, which thus became an official repository for every calumny against the emperor which floated on the impure surface of common conversation. It is impossible not to suspect that this was the storehouse to which Tacitus and Suetonius, or the obscurer writers from whom they drew, resorted for the reputed details of a prince's life and habits, whom it was the pleasure and interest of many parties to blacken to the utmost. The foulest stories current against Tiberius were probably the very charges advanced against him by libellers such as Saturninus, which he openly contradicted and denounced at the time, and which would have sunk into oblivion with the mass of ephemeral slander of the day, but for the restless and suicidal jealousy with which he himself registered and labelled them in the archives of indignant justice.[1]

Consolidation of the Roman dominion under Tiberius.

The subjects of Tiberius, we are assured, conceived a high opinion of the wisdom and policy of his general administration. Even Tacitus, not a favourable nor even a just critic of his character, admits that his conduct in regard to the law of majesty was the only blot upon a government dis-

[1] Dion, lvii. 22, 23.

tinguished, at least for many years, by eminent prudence, equity, and mildness.[1] But Tacitus, as we shall presently see, is far from consistent with himself in this, as in some other expressions of opinion. The first and most urgent duty of the chief of the Roman empire, following the traditions of the consular administration, was to maintain the honour and security of her possessions abroad, and against the foreigner on the frontiers. The law of empire, in the popular view, was continual progress and aggression. To extend the limits of his own province was the business of every proconsul, and to extend the limits of every province was still reputed the paramount duty of the imperator, who was himself universal proconsul. The first idea of Cæsar, upon attaining sovereignty in the city, was to effect the annexation of Parthia. Augustus had no such wild ambition, no such blind instinct of conquest: he sedulously abstained in many quarters from pushing forward the conquering eagles of Rome, feeling as he did that the extent of her possessions was already quite as great as one arm could control, too great indeed, as had been amply demonstrated, for the jealous co-rule of consuls and senators. Nevertheless Augustus had never wholly desisted from aggressive warfare beyond the limits of Terminus. In Egypt and Arabia, as well as still later in Germany, he had maintained substantial views of conquest, though he had refrained from putting out in any quarter the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6.: Leges, si majestatis quæstio eximeretur, bono in usu. By this we are not to understand merely the judicial procedure, but the handling of the broad principles of administration.

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whole strength of his armies. During his reign the empire had been increased with solid and not unimportant additions; and it had been no vain boast of his courtiers that he had advanced its frontiers into new zones and under unknown constellations.[1] Yet Augustus, it was well known, had left to his successor, as a legacy of political wisdom, the counsel not to extend the limits of Roman sovereignty. This advice Tiberius frankly accepted. He withdrew his legions, as soon as the daring ambition of Germanicus would permit him, within the Rhine; and if he allowed campaigns to be still waged in the valleys of the Atlas, they were strictly for security and not for conquest. His abstaining from the plantation of military colonies in the provinces, was a pledge of the sincerity of his peaceful policy.[2] Instead of extending the frontiers, he was only intent upon consolidating the possessions of the state within them, converting tributary kingdoms into taxable provinces, and reducing wild and restless barbarians to something more than a nominal subjection. It was under this reign, accordingly, that the far regions of Africa, so long exposed to plunder and disturbance from the nomade hordes in the recesses of their mountains, were finally placed in a state of security, which continued unassailed for centuries; that the authority of Rome was first established permanently throughout the wild district of Thrace, so important for connecting the conquest of Rome on the Danube with the sources of her

[1] Virg. *Æn.* vi. 795.: Jacet ultra sidera tellus,
Extra anni Solisque vices . . . . .

[2] See A. Zumpt: *Comment. Epigraph.* i. 381.

wealth in the Lesser Asia; that Cyzicus and Cappadocia were incorporated in the universal empire, and made to contribute from their wealth or poverty to relieve the pampered impatience of taxation in Rome and Italy. All these were in fact substantial conquests, though they might not be known by such a title, in which the emperor spared no artifice and even fraud, while he cautiously abstained, as far as possible, from the use of arms.[1] The reign of Tiberius deserves, accordingly, to be marked as an era of no trifling moment in the consolidation of the Roman power. It is probable that his own contemporaries were by no means unaware of this, and abundantly satisfied with a policy which threw many of their burdens upon their subjects and auxiliaries. Victories and triumphs could have done no more. But a hundred years later, as we shall see, another emperor arose, who added wide provinces to the unwieldy bulk of his dominions, and performed martial exploits which recalled the days of the Scipios and Cæsars; and transient and fruitless as his successes proved, they served to point an unfavourable and unjust comparison with the bloodless gains of his predecessor. Tacitus, who wrote under the inspiration of the glories of Trajan, though admitting, as we have seen, the general wisdom of the third Cæsar's policy, condescends to sneer at his abstinence from conquest, as something pusillanimous and unworthy of the Roman name.[2]

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 37.: Hostiles motus per legatos compescuit; nec per eos nisi cunctanter et necessario. Reges suspectosque comminationibus magis et querelis quam vi repressit.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 32.: Princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus erat.

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Stations of the legions under Tiberius.

While, however, Augustus had been obliged to entrust the conduct of his campaigns to princes raised almost to an equality of rank and power with himself, his successor, by refraining from aggressive warfare, with all the vast combinations it required, was enabled to keep all his lieutenants in the modest position befitting their vocation, and spare the empire the perils which might flow from an excited and pampered ambition. The legions were maintained in the same stations as under Augustus. The bank of the Rhine was still guarded, as we have seen, by eight, four in the Upper, and as many in the Lower Germania. The Iberian provinces were secured by three only; for their reduction, though recent, was now justly deemed complete. Mauretania, which Augustus had at one time incorporated with the empire, had been again erected into a tributary kingdom, and given to Juba, as the present of the Roman people. The African provinces were held by two legions, and two more were stationed in Egypt. Four were assigned for the protection of the East: they were quartered principally at Berytus on the Mediterranean, at Antioch and Cæsarea, or in scattered detachments on the heights of the Taurus and Libanus: they showed a front to the Parthians on the Euphrates, and supported the trembling thrones of the petty chiefs of the Caucasus, who were maintained as a check upon the more powerful

Compare iv. 4. with a direct allusion to the conquests of Trajan, Quanto sit angustius imperitatum. Here again, as in the case of delation, we see how Tacitus's estimate of the policy of Tiberius is coloured by his glowing conceptions of his own master's glory.

sovereigns of the plains. Thrace was consigned to the defence of kings of its own nation, under strict Roman superintendence; while two legions were posted on the Danube in Pannonia, and as many on the same stream, after it took the name of Ister, in the lower regions of Mœsia. Two more divisions, making a total complement of five-and-twenty, were quartered in Dalmatia, which formed a reserve for the armies of the East, while at the same time they were near enough to awe the peaceful and submissive populations of Greece and Lesser Asia. Their position at Apollonia, Dyrrhachium, or Nicopolis was more important from its proximity to Italy, of which, in fact, these two legions constituted virtually the garrison; for the empire still preserved the venerable tradition of the republic, that the legions were the instruments of foreign domination, not of domestic authority; and no legionary force was allowed to pitch its tents within the sacred limits of the land, all the free inhabitants of which were now Roman citizens. The police of Italy was entrusted to a force of the name of which she had not yet learnt to be jealous. Three Urban and three Prætorian cohorts, the city guards and the life guards, kept watch over the security of the metropolis and the person of the ruler; but these it was thought necessary to levy exclusively from the most central districts of the peninsula, from Latium itself or from Umbria and Etruria, and the ancient colonies of the Latin franchise.[1] Slender as these forces

[1] In giving this list of the legions, Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 5.) refers par-

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appear for the defence of so vast a territory, we are to remember that the auxiliary troops dispersed in the provinces where they were most needed are not included in the list; and these we are assured, in general terms, may have equalled the number of the legionaries.[1]

The discipline of the legions strenuously maintained.

It might be easier to maintain the fidelity and discipline of these numerous armies in the excitement of warfare than under the dull monotony of the camp in time of peace. The secret of the success of Tiberius in this respect, for after the first commencement of his reign there was no mutiny, nor even the seditious attempt of a discontented officer, lay no doubt in the firmness of his resolution to make no concessions to demands for relaxation and indulgence. The complaints which startled him on his accession to power were put down partly by the vigour of his envoys, the princes of his own family, but partly also by vague assurances of redress, extorted from his first alarm, but retracted or evaded as soon as he had recovered his presence of mind. The crisis, it may be allowed, was one at which it is not unlikely that any actual concession would have broken down the whole system of iron discipline on which the obe-

ticularly to the ninth year of Tiberius (A. U. 776. A.D. 23.). He does not mention, and seems indeed not to know of any German guards at Rome. Augustus, we have seen, had such a body-guard; but he dismissed them after the defeat of Varus, and it is probable that they were not re-embodied by his successor.

[1] Tacitus points out this difference between the legions and the auxiliary cohorts, that the latter were constantly moved from place to place, while the former were kept stationary.

dience of the legions rested. Nor would Tiberius encourage the soldiers to look for extraordinary gratuities by any occasional largesses, such as Augustus and Cæsar before him had so liberally dispensed. After paying them the sum bequeathed them by his predecessor, which indeed he thought it became him to double, he made no further appeal to their favour and gratitude, except on one important occasion, at a late period of his reign, in requital for a particular service.[1] He trusted, for securing their devotion, solely to the regard they entertained for his title of Imperator, and the deserts by which he had attained it.

The governors of provinces kept for several years in office.

Not only the respect in which the commonwealth was held by foreign potentates, but the submission and awe of the provincial populations, depended mainly upon the firmness of the hand which kept her soldiers to their standards.[2] The tranquillity and contentment of the provinces under Tiberius bear witness to his merits as commander of the Roman armies. While Roman writers with whom we are the most familiar depict the character of this Cæsar in the most hideous colours, and only with manifest reluctance admit any circumstances which bespeak the moderation and equity of his rule, it is remarkable that the independent testimony of two provincial authorities combines to assure us that in the provinces at least his adminis-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 36.; Dion, lvii. 5.; Suet. *Tib.* 48.

[2] Vell. ii. 126.: Diffusa in orientis occidentisque tractus, et quidquid meridiano aut septentrione finitur, pax augusta per omnes terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorum metu servat immunes.

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tration was beneficent, and his memory held in honour. Thus Philo of Judæa speaks in glowing terms of the wisdom and mildness of the government of Alexandria under the auspices of Tiberius, and exalts still more eloquently the happy condition of the world at the moment of his demise.[1] Again, the Jewish historian Josephus confirms the statement of other writers, that this emperor departed widely from the ordinary principle of provincial administration, in prolonging the stay of the proconsuls from its usual term of a single twelvemonth to a longer and ultimately to an indefinite period.[2] This novel usage, he assures us, though allowing that it coincided with the emperor's habits of procrastination, and a certain infirmity of purpose which grew upon him in age, was conceived in a spirit of equity, and intended to remove the main cause of the sufferings of the provinces, in the ardour with which each new governor had hastened to make his fortune, for which he had only the briefest space allotted him. Tiberius was wont to justify his policy by an appropriate apologue:—*A number of flies had settled on a soldier's wound, and a compassionate passer-by was about to scare them away. The sufferer begged him to refrain. These flies, he said, have nearly sucked their full, and are beginning to be tolerable: if you drive them off, they will be immediately succeeded*

[1] Philo *in Flacc.* 1, 2.; *Legat. in Cai.* 2.: τίς γὰρ ἰδὼν . . . . οὐκ ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατεπλάγη τὴν ὑπερφύους καὶ πάντος λόγου κρείττονος εὐπραγίας. This curious passage will deserve to be noticed more particularly at a later period.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. § 5.

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by fresh comers with keener appetites. The progress indeed of regular government seemed to demand a change on this point, which should enable the affairs of the empire to be conducted by fixed method and uniform procedure, while it spared the people the fluctuations as well as the expenses incident to a continual change of governors. It serves to mark the transition, which was now proceeding, in the government of the provinces, from the sway of an encamped proconsul to that of an established viceroy. There seems no reason to doubt that the conduct of Tiberius in this particular, stripped of all unfair interpretation, was part of a settled and well-meant policy, however much it may have indulged the gratification of personal indolence, to which alone his detractors have chosen to ascribe it, or agreed with his jealous indisposition to multiply the number of distinguished and confidential coadjutors.[1] But it caused, we may suppose, great dissatisfaction among the candidates for place and emolument, and may be ranked among the motives of the hatred of the Roman nobility towards him.

Improved treatment of the provinces.

The great change now in progress in the view in which the provinces were to be regarded, no longer as prostrate enemies, but as the common children with the citizens themselves of the state, the

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 41. 63.; Tac. *Ann.* i. 80., vi. 27. Dion (lviii. 23.) accounts for it differently: τοσοῦτον πλῆθος τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀπώλετο ὥστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς κληρωτούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐπὶ τρία, τοὺς δ' ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ ἐξ ἔτη τὰς ἡγεμονείας τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπορίᾳ τῶν διαδεξομένων αὐτούς, σχεῖν. But whatever be the merits of the system, it was introduced in fact not by Tiberius, but by Augustus. See Dion, lv. 28.

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universal parent, appears in the duty which Tiberius was the first of the Roman rulers to acknowledge, of extending the liberality of the public treasury to the wants of the national dependents. A great step was gained in the cause of humanity and civilization, a great advance towards the overthrow of the selfish prejudices of conquest, when the subjects were admitted to have a claim upon the state as well as obligations towards it.[1] It marks the commencement of what has been called the reaction of the provinces upon Rome, when, on the occasion of a fearful earthquake, which made havoc of not fewer than twelve cities of Lesser Asia, the prince proclaimed aloud that it was an imperial calamity and merited relief from imperial resources.[2] The control of the provincial governors was no longer left to the casual and interested activity of self-constituted accusers, or to the jealousy of political partisans: never before had the officials been kept in the path of moderation and purity by the restraints of a systematic procedure; and the many instances in which they were still accused and convicted of rapacity and injustice may be accepted in proof, not of any increase of the frequency of their

[1] Thus Hoeck has a chapter (book v. chap. 11.) entitled die Ruckwirkungen der Provinzen auf Rom.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47. (A.U. 770. A.D. 17.), alluded to also by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 86.: Eodem anno xii. celebres Asiæ urbes collapsæ nocturno motu terræ. Their taxes were remitted for a term of years, large sums were granted them in ready money, and a special commissioner was sent by the senate to superintend its application. See above, chap. xliii. The twelve cities all lay in the district of Lydia. This earthquake is perhaps the most destructive of any on record. Comp. Von Hoff, *Erdoberfläch.* iv. 169. But even while I write the city of Broussa is trembling to its foundation with another.

guilt, but of the greater vigilance of the government in detecting it. It will be remarked, also, on examining the cases of this kind recorded, that they refer more commonly to the senatorian, such as Asia and Africa, than to the imperial provinces.[1] In the latter the officials were appointed more directly by the emperor himself, and their duties and prerogatives were more definitely prescribed. Good conduct, whether in the highest posts or the lowest, secured them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their places for many years or even for their lives. The happier lot of these provinces is attested by the fact that, to be removed from the rule of the senate and placed under that of the emperor, was regarded as a boon by the provincials themselves.[2] The old plan, indeed, of farming the revenues of the provinces by the hands of the publicani, now as heretofore generally Roman knights, still continued in force: the time had not yet arrived, perhaps, when this system, which recommended itself to the state quite as much for its simplicity and convenience as for the means it afforded of enriching the ruling class, could be dispensed with. The details of the system were like those now in force in Turkey and British India. The corporation of publicani, which engaged for the revenues of a district, required the heads of towns and cantons to assess the proportions of houses and families; and probably the levy was thus on the whole more equitably as well as more economically

[1] See Hoeck, *Rœm. Gesch.* i. 3. 98.

[2] Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 76.: Achaiam et Macedoniam onera deprecantes levari in præsens proconsulari imperio, tradique Cæsari placuit.

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made, with the aid of local knowledge, than it would have been by processes more familiar to ourselves, and adapted to more homogeneous populations. But Tiberius deserves high credit for the firmness with which he is said to have resisted the temptations which commonly beset a government under this method of taxation. He refused to apply the screw to his financial agents, and require the larger return which he was assured might easily be extracted from them. *A good shepherd*, he was wont to say, *must shear his sheep and not flay them.*[1] Among the wholesome regulations of this Princeps for the protection of the provincials against the rapacity of their rulers was a senatorial decree, by which the officers, however guiltless they might be themselves, were made responsible for the misconduct of their consorts in this particular: for the women, it was found, were more prone to take bribes and sell the favours of the government than the men. He ruled, however, after a debate, the details of which are curious and not uninstructive, that the attendance of the wives upon their husbands abroad was a less evil than the consequences which might flow from forbidding them that indulgence.[2]

Moderate taxation of the provinces.

Government of Italy and the city.

But the care of Tiberius was not confined to the provinces. He devoted himself with untiring industry to the reform of abuses in the government of Italy, to assuring general security and tranquillity, and alleviating distress. He protected the

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 32.: Boni pastoris esse tondere pecus non deglubere. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6.; Dion, lvii. 10.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 20. foll.

inhabitants from robbers and banditti by establishing military posts in various places, and stimulated the diligence of the city police. His measures for maintaining order in the capital were temperate and well considered. Instead of treating the players, whose over-ardent admirers were constantly fighting and rioting about them, as mere servants of the government, and subjecting them again, as before the time of Augustus, to the rods of the prætor, he was satisfied with reducing the public grants for their encouragement, and forbidding the senators from entering their dwellings, and the knights from trooping round them in the streets: the theatre alone, he declared, was appropriated to visiting them. At the same time, they were no longer held responsible for the peace of the city, but the penalty of banishment was denounced against the spectators who should cause disturbances there.[1] Upon occasion, however, of a riot which occurred in the year 776, we find that both the players themselves, and the leaders of the theatrical factions, were expelled all together from the city, nor was the emperor prevailed upon, by the most pressing instances, to recall the offenders.[2]

Control over the players.

This interference with their amusements was a grave offence to the populace. When Tiberius limited the number of gladiators who should be introduced into the arena, the citizens complained with bitterness that he took no genial pleasure in the old Roman recreations. They were indignant

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 75.; Suet. *Tib.* 34. Comp. *Digest.* xlviii. 19. 28. § 3.; Vell. ii. 126.: Compressa theatralis seditio.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 37.; Tac. *Ann.* iv. 15.

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at having their draught of blood measured out to them by drops. Of all their pleasant vices this appetite for the sight of blood was that which lay nearest to their hearts. Though all classes were equally addicted to the crime or folly of consulting conjurors and diviners, the measures which Tiberius enforced, after the example of Augustus, Agrippa, and the legislators of the free state before them, for expelling the Chaldæans and astrologers from Italy, caused far less dissatisfaction. This prohibition, indeed, was found to be easily evaded.[1] The emperor himself, the most superstitious of his nation, could not resolve to rid his own palace of the herd of soothsayers, who so well knew how to play upon his fears and hopes. While he indulged himself in prying through their agency into his own future fates, he could not prevent the inquiries of friends or enemies, flatterers and intriguers: to cast the imperial horoscope became the dangerous amusement from which few courtiers or politicians had always the firmness to abstain. The Chaldæans, said Tacitus, are a class who mislead the ambitious and disappoint the powerful; who will always be forbidden a place among us, yet will always be retained here.[2]

The soothsayers expelled from Italy.

Suppression

These measures against the astrologers were not

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32. One of these unfortunate people was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, another was beaten to death with the stick, the ancient military punishment. Tacitus says, Consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere jussissent, more prisco advertere. This is explained by Suetonius, *Ner.* 49.: Nudi hominis cervicem inserere furcæ et corpus virgis ad necem cædere.

[2] Tac. *Hist.* i. 22.: Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur.

of the Egyptian and Jewish rites.

more ineffectual than those which Tiberius also took for the suppression of the Egyptian and Jewish rites. He was not led, however, into these regulations by the same principles which animated his predecessor. He did not regard himself as the sworn defender, or restorer of the ancient cult, as the patron of Roman observances in opposition to novel and extraneous usages. He looked merely to the practical evils which might result from any heterodox movement, and his zeal against these Oriental innovations was roused, we may suppose, by the mystery in which they were for the most part shrouded, by the nocturnal ceremonies which they generally affected, and by the connexion which was ascribed to all these observances with the dreaded inquiry into the future. A single case of gross scandal imputed to the priests of Isis at Rome was sufficient perhaps to give colour to the emperor's strong proceedings against that worship and its followers. The statue of the goddess was precipitated into the Tiber, and her rites forbidden in the capital.[1] Similar measures were taken against the religious observances of the Jews at Rome. When required to enlist in the Roman armies, this people pleaded their ancient national prejudice against military service, and the indulgence it had experienced from earlier Cæsars. But this refusal was now deemed a sufficient pretext for accusing them of disloyalty, for the prohibition of their worship, the demolition of their sacred instruments and vestments, and

[1] See in Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 3.) the story of Mundus, whose licentious passion was pandered to by the priests of Anubis.

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finally their expulsion from Italy. A body of four thousand of them was seized and drafted into Sardinia, to repress the brigandage of that wild region; and the senate seems to have added insult to the wrong, by expressing, in the wording of its decree, that if the unwholesome climate of the place should utterly destroy them, the state would have little reason to deplore the loss.[1] It would seem, however, that at a later period Tiberius relaxed in his severity towards this people, and adopted means of conciliating them. They were fain to believe that the harshness of his earlier legislation was due to the malignant influences of the detested favourite Sejanus.[2]

Limitation of the right of asylum.

The establishment of a regular system of legal protection for the subject of every degree went hand in hand with the abolition or limitation of such irregular substitutes for it as the right of asylum, with which religious feeling had stepped in where human law failed to perform its duty. It was chiefly in the eastern provinces that this right of asylum was recognised, and sanctioned by long usage and popular favour. The multiplication of these places of refuge, fostered by the cupidity of the priests, had extended a dangerous impunity to all manner of crimes, and multiplied the number of offenders. Such, however, was the influence of

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85.: Et si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, vile damnum. I infer from the construction that the writer here expresses the sentiment of the decree itself, rather than his own. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 33.; Senec. *Ep.* 108.

[2] Philo, *Legat. ad Cai.* 24. On the statement of Tertullian (*Apol.* 5.), regarding the favour, as he pretends, of Tiberius towards Christianity, I shall speak on a future occasion.

the priests on the superstition of the vulgar, that every attempt to check this encouragement to disorder had been vehemently resented, and had led in many cases to disturbances and riots. Tiberius undertook to abate the nuisance, and acted with good sense and decision. He required the cities which claimed the right of conferring protection on the suppliants in their cherished fanes, to produce before the senate the just grounds, by prescription or legal ordinance, of the claims they advanced. He limited the extent of territory to which in each case the privilege should apply, for it was claimed not for the sacred walls only or the outer inclosure of the temple, but often for large tracts of land around them; he defined, perhaps with greater strictness the character of the offences to which protection should be granted; and thus, without abolishing the institution itself, he set some bounds to its licence, with the consent and approbation no doubt of the best and wisest of his subjects.[1] In Rome, the centre of law and rights well understood, the privilege of asylum had never flourished as in the more disturbed regions of the East. Nevertheless the tribunitian sanctity of the emperor became gradually extended to his statues, and culprits or fugitive slaves, on touching an image or picture of the august personage, were allowed to defy the authority of law, and the

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 37.: Abolevit et vim moremque asylorum quæ usquam erant; but Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 60.) modifies this statement: Crebrescebat Græcas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi .... facta senatusconsulta quis, magno cum honore, modus tamen præscribebatur.

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privileges, otherwise unbounded, of their masters. This means of protection was soon turned even to a weapon of offence: holding up an imperial coin between his thumb and finger, any ruffian might stand in the public streets and rail with impunity against the honourable and noble: the client might abuse and threaten his patron, the slave might even raise his hand against his master. This flagrant abuse was not checked, for no man ventured to brave the delators, who might easily frame upon the attempt a process of majestas, until a senator having been pelted with opprobrious language by a woman, a notorious delinquent, whom he was bringing to justice, Drusus himself, at the request of the perplexed fathers, interposed and threw the offender into prison, in spite of the image of the emperor which she eloquently brandished in his face.[1]

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Flagrant dissipation of the times.

This insolent defiance of public opinion and the general sense of morality was one of the most ominous signs of the times. No sumptuary laws, though sanctioned by the wisest politicians, and invoked by the uneasy consciences of the citizens themselves, availed to stem the torrent of dissipation and extravagance, which increased with every restriction upon nobler aims and occupations. The vast sums which were notoriously expended upon the dainties of the table, the profusion of table ornaments, plate, and jewellery, and the extravagant prices given for articles of mere conventional value, such as vases of mixed Corinthian metal, and boards of Numidian citron-wood, pro-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii 36

voked the indignation of the morose Tiberius.[1] He urged the senate to discover means of repression. But his counsellors were indisposed to strong measures, and the emperor himself soon wearied of the hopeless struggle. Contenting himself with some trifling regulations for appearance sake, he acknowledged with a sigh that the times were not fit for a censorship of manners. When the ædiles represented to him that the sumptuary laws of Augustus, fixing the prices for certain articles of luxury, were habitually disregarded, he replied that these after all were but trifling matters compared with the real dangers accruing to the commonwealth from the demands of selfish cupidity and the accumulation of vast estates. *Italy*, he exclaimed, *yea, Rome herself depends for her daily food upon foreign harvests, upon the vicissitudes of the weather, and the uncertain humours of the Ocean. Unless our provinces come to our support, will our farms maintain us, or our forests feed us?* He alluded to the neglect of cultivation, which was supposed to be daily increasing throughout the peninsula, and the complaints which had grown in force for a hundred and fifty years, of the decline of the ancient strength of the country, the population of free labourers. This, he said, was a much graver concern than the price of plates and dishes; the latter might be a fitting matter for the ædiles to care for, as consuls, prætors, and every other magistrate had each their proper sphere of vigilance; but something of higher and more general

Tiberius despairs of checking it by sumptuary laws.

[1] Tertull. *de pallio*, 5.: M. Tullius quingentis millibus orbem citri emit, qua bis tantum Asinius Gallus pro mensa ejusdem Mauretaniæ numerat.

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He attempts to enforce the cultivation of land in Italy.

A. D. 22. A. U. 775.

interest was demanded of the Princeps. For the correction of this evil, however, he could discover no more effectual remedy than the enforcement of regulations already existing, by which the senators were required to hold two-thirds of their possessions in land in Italy; while he sought to alleviate it by redoubling his care and vigilance to secure a constant supply of the first necessary of life from abroad.[1]

Shamelessness of both sexes.

As regarded public morality, Tiberius marched in the steps of his predecessor, not indeed in the spirit of an enthusiast, or with any ardent aspirations for the purity of the Roman blood or honour of the Roman name, but as a matter of duty and discipline. He resented the insensibility to shame of many of the young citizens even of knightly or senatorial families, who in their passion for displaying their accomplishments as singers or dancers on the stage, a degradation strictly forbidden to their class, contrived to get themselves legally degraded, to enable them thus to present themselves before the public with impunity. Against this ignoble evasion of the law new and more stringent edicts were levelled. In making the licentiousness of a Roman matron a public offence, Augustus seems to have overshot his mark. Among the other impediments which arose to the enforcement of the Julian legislation on this delicate subject, it seems to have been found difficult to induce disinterested persons to prosecute as public accusers. Possibly it was with the view of obviating the scandal of open procedure in such lamentable cases, that Tiberius revived the pri-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 53, 54.; Vell. ii. 126.: Quando annona moderatior?

mitive usage, and delivered the culprits to be tried and punished by their own kinsmen, *after the manner of the ancients*. These domestic tribunals had been suffered to inflict even death for very trifling indecorums. But the law allowed the defenceless frail ones one method of escape, and we cannot wonder that women should have been found to resort to it. The penalties of irregularity were strict and severe; but from these professed prostitution was exempted, and immunity might be purchased by the exchange of the decent stole of matronhood for the toga of the avowed courtezan.[1] While the acceptance of this disgraceful condition was confined to a few plebeian cases it attracted neither animadversion nor notice; it was not till the wives of men of the highest class were found to take refuge in the ædile's list of public women, from the loss of dowry, confiscation, and banishment, which were the penalties of the Julian law against adultery, that the Princeps determined to close this last means of retreat, by a new and sweeping edict against every degree of licentiousness.[2]

Immorality ascribed to Tiberius.

The Roman legislators had never been famous for adhering in their own persons to the rules they enforced upon their fellow citizens. What then, it may be asked, was the private character of the man who showed himself thus harsh and unbending in his public capacity? His amusements and relaxations,

[1] Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 63.: Quid interest in matrona, ancilla, peccesve togata?

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85.; Suet. *Tib.* 35. The enactment on this subject, cited by Papinian (*Dig.* xlviii. 5. 10.), is probably that of Tiberius: Mulier quæ evitandæ pœnæ adulterii gratia lenocinium fecerit aut operas suas scenæ locaverit, adulterii accusari damnarique ex senatusconsulto potest.

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no mean element in the character of every Roman, were frivolous rather than corrupt; nor, yet at least, can he fairly be charged with habits of excessive indulgence. In regard to women, there is no evidence whatever against the morals of Tiberius up to the period we are now considering: towards the wife of his choice he had shown a strong feeling of affection, while as to the worthless consort who was imposed upon him, however sternly he may have resented her profligacy, we have no reason to suppose it was provoked by similar profligacy on his part. Nevertheless, the prejudices of the Romans were early excited against him, and no reliance can be placed on their malicious assertions that his natural reserve was assumed as a mask to conceal the grossest improprieties. Certainly, on this score, neither history nor anecdote has any story at this time against him: the charge of habitual intemperance rests chiefly upon a ribald epigram, which may have originated in the licence of the camp[1]; while the saying ascribed to him that a man must be a fool who required a physician after thirty, is sufficient to show that he enjoyed robust and equal

[1] See above, in a note on this chapter (p. 155.). Pliny asserts indeed that Tiberius was intemperate in his youth, but admits that no such charge could be laid against him in his latter years. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 28.: In senecta jam severus; sed ipsa juventa ad merum pronior fuerat. He tells an anecdote, or rather a popular surmise, which must be taken for what it is worth, that he selected Lucius Piso for the post of prefect of the city on account of his admirable qualities as a boon companion; as, for instance, that he could drink for two days and nights without intermission. A strange story to be told of one who has the character of the most astute and vigilant of tyrants. Plin. l. c. Comp. Senec. *Epist.* 83.

health, such as was never maintained down to the decline of a long life by a confirmed drunkard.[1] Nor can there be any doubt of the untiring perseverance with which Tiberius devoted himself through at least the greater part of his principate to the engrossing cares of his station, cares which above all others must have demanded a clear head and a sound body. For several years he never quitted the dust and din of Rome for a single day, and his whole time was given without intermission to the discussions of the senate, to the procedure of the tribunals, to conferences with foreign envoys, and every other detail in its turn of his world-wide administration. The charge of profligacy, only slightly supported by external testimony, falls to the ground before this strong internal evidence of its falsehood.

His simplicity and frugality.

But the morality of Tiberius was not confined to abstinence from gross vice, or refraining from luxuries and indulgences which might have been less unsuitable to his position. He was anxious to exhibit the ancient ideal of the Roman statesman in the practice of the household virtues of simplicity and frugality. His domestic economy, formed on the pattern of Augustus, received additional hardness and severity from the habits of the camp, with which he had been so long familiar. The number

[1] The holding of this paradox, attributed to the great Napoleon and others, always indicates exuberant health and spirits. Suetonius says of Tiberius on this point (*Tib.* 69.): Valetudine prospera usus est, tempore quidem principatus pæne toto prope illæsa, quamvis a tricesimo ætatis anno arbitratu eam suo rexerit, sine adjumento consilioque medicorum. Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 46.): Solitus eludere medicorum artes, atque eos qui post tricesimum ætatis annum ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia vel noxia alieni consilii indigerent.

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of his slaves was limited; the freedmen who managed his private concerns were kept strictly within the bounds of modesty and propriety. Their services were rewarded with exactness, but at the same time parsimoniously; nor did their employer ever surrender to them any portion of his real authority, or allow them any undue influence over himself.[1] The carefulness he exhibited in the government of his household was an earnest of the economy of his public administration; and as such the citizens might, at least, have admired it, however few the imitators it could find among them. But Augustus had had the art of combining personal simplicity with a general and perhaps a wise liberality in public matters, which was beyond the conception of his more narrow-minded successor. The people were piqued at the cessation of the noble largesses which used to flow to them from the coffers of their inimitable favourite. Tiberius, who took no pleasure himself in the sports of the theatre or circus, and could not, like Augustus, good-humouredly affect it, reduced the salaries of the mimes and the numbers of the gladiators. He lavished no treasures on the decoration of the city with architectural wonders, content to execute with scrupulous fidelity the designs his predecessor had left uncompleted. Yet he too could, on worthy occasions, exhibit munificence on an imperial scale. The relief he conceded

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 7. "Rari per Italiam Cæsaris agri, modesta servitia, intra paucos libertos domus: ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret, forum ac jus. But a darker colour is presently dashed into the modest drab: quæ cuncta non quidem comi via sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec, &c.

to the ruined cities of Asia was conceived in the spirit of an Augustus or a Julius, and the aid he extended to the decayed scions of noble houses at home showed that he could be generous from policy, as well as sparing from temper.[1] In times of scarcity he did not fail to check the rise of prices at Rome, according to the best lights of his day, by compensating the dealers in grain from his own means; and from the same well-managed resources he indemnified the citizens for their losses by the great fire which ravaged the quarters of the Cælius and Aventine.[2] The whole empire reaped abundant fruits from this prudent considerateness, in the undiminished supply of all sources of public revenue, and the opening of new ones. The government was enabled to fulfil every engagement with punctuality: its civil officers, regularly and adequately paid, were left without excuse for extortion, its soldiers were kept within the bounds of military discipline, and receiving punctually their daily dole, submitted without a murmur to the labours of the camp and the blows of the centurion.

His moderation in regard to money.

At the same time, with all his frugality, Tiberius obtained the rare praise of personal indifference to money, and forbearance in claiming even his legitimate dues.[3] In many cases in which the law enriched the emperor with the property of a con-

[1] Vell. ii. 126.: Fortuita non civium tantummodo sed urbium damna principis munificentia vindicat.

[2] Comp. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 87., iv. 64., vi. 45.; Vell. ii. 130.; Suet. *Tib.* 48.; Dion, lviii. 26.

[3] Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 18.) says of him, as before quoted, Satis firmus, ut sæpe memoravi, adversus pecuniam. Comp. Dion, lvii. 10. 17.

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demned criminal he waived his right, and allowed it to descend to the heir. He frequently refused to accept inheritances bequeathed him by persons who were not actually related to him, and checked the base subservience of a death-bed flattery. With all these genuine merits towards the commonwealth, he was not blind to the advantage he might derive from pretending to another virtue, which ranked high in the estimation of the Romans, but to which he had no real claim. From the commencement of his principate he affected the most obsequious deference to the state, as represented by the senate, the presumed exponent of its will. His first care was to make it appear to the world that his own preeminence was thrust upon him by that body, which alone could lawfully invest him with it. We have seen under what disguises, and by what circuitous processes, he had gradually drawn into his own hands the powers by which he seemed only seeking to enrich the senate at the expense of every other order in the commonwealth. The promptness of its adulation, the proneness of its servility, he strove to check sometimes with grave dignity, at others with disdainful irony. When it proposed to call the month of November, in which he was born, after his name, as July and August had derived their titles from his predecessors, *what*, he asked, *will you do if there should be thirteen Cæsars?* [1] He would not allow himself to be called, in the addresses of its members, *Dominus* or *Lord*, as the style of a slave towards his master, nor his employments *Sacred*, as

His show of deference to the senate.

[1] Dion, lvii. 18.

belonging only to divinity; nor, again, would he have it said that he *required* its attendance at his summons. He never entered the Curia with an escort of guards, or even of unarmed dependents, and rebuked provincial governors for addressing their despatches to himself, and not always to the senate.[1] His own communications to the august order were conceived in a tone of the deepest respect and even subservience. *I now say*, he would declare, *as I have often said before, that a good and useful prince should be the servant of the senate, and the people generally, sometimes of individual magistrates.* Such was his demeanour almost uniformly throughout the first years of his government; it was only late, and by degrees, that he drew forth the arm of power from the folds of this specious disguise, and exhibited the Princeps to the citizens in the fulness of his now established authority. But even to the last, though capricious and irregular in his behaviour, we are assured that his manner was most commonly marked by this air of deference, and the public weal continued still to be manifestly the ruling object of his measures.[2]

The promise of his reign marred by defects of temper and demeanour.

We have here before us the picture of a good sovereign but not of an amiable man. Had Tiberius been so fortunate as to have died at the close of a ten years' principate, he would have left an honourable though not an attractive name in the annals of Rome: he would have represented the

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 27. 30. 32.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 29. 33.: Paulatim Principem exseruit, præstititque: et si varium diu, commodiorem tamen sæpius et ad utilitates publicas proniorem.

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Cato Censor of the empire, by the side of the Scipio of Augustus and the Camillus of Cæsar. The sternness and even cruelty he had so often exhibited would have gained him no discredit with the Romans, so long as they were exerted against public offenders for the common weal, and for no selfish objects. Even the suspicion which from the first attached to him of having procured the death of Agrippa was probably little regarded: the exile of Augustus was already branded as a monstrous production of nature which ought never to have been reared, and might with little blame to any be got rid of. But as the fine and interesting features of his person were marred by a constrained and unpleasing mien and expression, so his patience, industry, and discretion were disparaged by a perverse temper, a crooked policy and an uneasy sensibility. The manners of the man, the martinet in the camp, the officialist in the closet, the pedant in the senate-house, carried with them no charm, and emitted no scintillation of genius to kindle the sympathies of the nation. The Princeps, from his invidious and questionable position, if once he failed to attract, could only repel the inclinations of his subjects. If once they ceased to ascribe to him their blessings, they would begin without delay to cast upon his head all their misfortunes. The mystery of the death of Germanicus threw a blight upon the fame of Tiberius from which he never again recovered. From that moment his countrymen judged him without discrimination, and sentenced him without compunction. The suspicion of his machinations against Germanicus, unproved

and improbable as they really were, kindled their imaginations to feelings of disgust and horror, which neither personal debauchery, nor the persecution of knights and nobles, would alone have sufficed to engender.[1]

[1] Tacitus, we have seen, had special inducements to do less than justice to Tiberius; nevertheless, his account of the tyrant is not on the whole inconsistent. But there is no part of Dion's history in which he fails so much as in his delineation of this Cæsar's character. It is a mere jumble of good and bad actions, for which the writer sometimes apologizes, and insinuates as his excuse that the author of them was mad. The stories, however, themselves are often extravagant and puerile. Such, for instance, is that of the architect, who, being sentenced to banishment by Tiberius from mere spite, because he had performed the wonderful feat of straightening an inclined wall, in order to ingratiate himself with the tyrant, threw a glass vessel to the ground, picked up the fragments, and set them together again, whereupon he was immediately put to death, as too clever to be suffered to live. (Dion, lvii. 21.) There is something Oriental in the turn which the fancy of Dion not unfrequently takes.

CHAPTER XLV.

COMPARISON BETWEEN AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS. — SEJANUS USEFUL WITHOUT BEING FORMIDABLE. — DISTURBANCES IN AFRICA AND REVOLT IN GAUL. — OVERTHROW OF SACROVIR (A. U. 774.). — THE TRIBUNITIAN POWER CONFERRED UPON DRUSUS (A. U. 775.). — INTRIGUES OF SEJANUS: ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRÆTORIAN CAMP. — DRUSUS POISONED BY SEJANUS (A. U. 776.). — DETERIORATION OF THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS. — DEATH OF CREMUTIUS CORDUS AND OTHERS. — SEJANUS DEMANDS THE HAND OF LIVILLA, AND IS REFUSED BY TIBERIUS. — HE CONCEIVES THE PROJECT OF WITHDRAWING TIBERIUS FROM ROME. — RETIREMENT OF TIBERIUS TO CAPREÆ (A. U. 780.). — HIS MANNER OF LIFE THERE. — FURTHER DETERIORATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT. — DEATH OF THE YOUNGER JULIA AND OF THE EMPRESS LIVIA (A. U. 782.). (A. U. 774—782. A. D. 21—29.)

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A. D. 21. A. U. 747. Comparison between Augustus and Tiberius: the man of genius and the man of ability.

I HAVE described the rise and progress of Tiberius to a distinguished eminence among Roman statesmen: I have now to introduce the reader to the decline and fall of his well-earned reputation. The ruin of so fair a character, and the frustration of such respectable abilities and virtues was not the work of a day, nor the effect of any single crime or failure. The temper of the times and the circumstances of his position presented the most formidable obstacles to a sustained good government, which the Romans had not perhaps the patriotism to appreciate or support. But the honourable ambition of the second Princeps to see

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everything with his own eyes, and execute everything with his own hands, was in fact itself suicidal. Augustus, with the Roman world exhausted and prostrate at his feet, craving only to be moulded by his policy and informed with inspiration from his mouth, had accustomed himself from the first to act by able and trusty ministers. He was wisely content to see many things with the eyes of a Mæcenas, to act in many things with the hands of an Agrippa. His bravest auxiliary he ventured generously to connect with himself by the bonds of a family alliance. At a later period he educated the members of his own house to relieve him, one after another, of some of the functions of his station. Tiberius he associated with himself on terms of almost complete equality. But Augustus was a man of genius: he was the soul of the Roman empire: fame, fortune, and conscious ability had inspired him with unwavering self-reliance. It was impossible for his successor, bred in the sphere of an adjutant or an official, to have the same lofty confidence in himself, and to discard with a contemptuous smile the suggestions of every vulgar jealousy. Tiberius, thoroughly trained in the routine of business, might believe himself competent to the task of government; he might devote himself with intense and restless application to every detail of the public service, and struggle with the rising tide of circumstances with desperate and even gallant perseverance. But he was animated by no inward consciousness of power, and when he felt himself overwhelmed by the odds against him, he could not look around serenely

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for the assistance he required. Those of his own household he repelled from him as enemies, and instead of choosing the ablest counsellor in the fittest quarter, allowed himself to fall under the influence of the nearest and least scrupulous intriguer. Even Sejanus he did not formerly appoint as his minister, nor avowedly surrender to him any definite share in his affairs; but he yielded to him his own mind and will in all things, let the conduct of the empire slip insensibly out of his hands, and allowed the world to despise him as the puppet of his own favourite and minion.

The jealousy of Tiberius not alarmed by the inferior origin and talents of Sejanus.

It has been already represented that Tiberius, from the character of his mind, preferred the services of an obscure and humble client to those of an associate of lofty rank and corresponding pretensions. Accordingly, in giving his confidence to Sejanus, he never contemplated raising him to a position of independent authority: on the contrary, he conceived that the moderateness of his origin, the subordinate office he filled, and above all, perhaps, the mediocrity of his talents, were a sufficient guarantee against his ever rising into rivalry with himself.

The imperial family.

The imperial family still flourished with numerous scions: among these his own son occupied the first place; and this prince, since the death of his cousin Germanicus, united every claim of birth, years, and ability to share with his father the toils and honours of administration.

Tiberius and Drusus, consuls.

In the year 774, accordingly, Tiberius appointed himself consul in conjunction with Drusus, an union however of which the citizens, it is said, drew an unfavourable augury; for all the previous colleagues

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of Tiberius — namely, Varus, Piso, and Germanicus — had perished by violent and shocking deaths.[1] Both in this instance, and in a fifth, which afterwards followed, these forebodings, it will appear, were destined to be fatally fulfilled. Meanwhile a deep gloom was settling upon the imperial palace, from whence no light gleamed to cheer the Roman people, and dispel with the prospect of future prosperity the misgivings which now assailed them. The emperor began to evince a disposition for retirement and solitude. The moments he could abstract from the unvarying pressure of business he devoted to consultation with his astrologers and diviners, listening to their interpretation of his dreams, and requiring an exposition of the occult meaning of every sound that reached him, or vision that flashed upon his sight. In order perhaps to secure himself from observation in pursuits which he had interdicted to the citizens, he was now anxious to escape from the city, where his residence had been for many years unbroken, so painful was the assiduity he had bestowed upon the details of his vast administration. For this purpose he withdrew to the pleasant coast of Campania, professing that his health required change of scene and alleviation of labour, leaving the conduct of the executive in the hands of Drusus, though he retained a vigilant supervision of affairs, and constantly explained his views and wishes in dispatches addressed to the senate. The behaviour of the young consul thus watched

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Character of Drusus.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 31.; Dion, lvii. 20,

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and guided seems to have been temperate and judicious. He smoothed the differences between the proudest and most turbulent of the nobles; and his interference was the more graceful as it was employed to enforce an act of submission on the part of a young Lucius Sulla, a contemporary of his own, towards Domitius Corbulo, a man of greater age and political experience.[1] He checked, as we have seen, the licentious appeal to the imperial majesty as a protection for calumnious railing, and evaded rather than opposed the unseasonable rigour of the reformers of manners, who invited the senate to prohibit the governors of provinces from taking their consorts with them. He had himself, he said, derived much comfort from the society of his own partner in his various military missions, and Livia, still the mirror of Roman matrons, had marched by the side of Augustus from Rome to every frontier of the empire. Drusus at this time was thirty years of age. From his earliest adolescence he had been employed in the career of arms, and he had already been distinguished by a previous consulship in the year 768.[2] He was well known therefore both to the soldiers and the people; and though neither the one nor the other bestowed upon him the regard they had lavished upon his cousin, he was not on the whole unpopular with either. Even his vices

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 31. This Corbulo must be distinguished from another of the same name, whose exploits and melancholy fate will occupy some of our future pages. He had already filled the office of prætor, and is represented as an elderly personage. The younger Corbulo died nearly fifty years later.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* i. 55.: Druso Cæsare, C. Norbano Coss. A. U. 768.

were favourably contrasted with those of his father. He might be cruel and sanguinary in his enjoyment of the sports of the amphitheatre; the sharpest of the gladiator's swords received from him the name of Drusian: but this was better, in the popular view, than the moroseness of Tiberius, who evinced no satisfaction in such spectacles at all. He might be too much addicted to revelry and carousing: but this again was a fault which a few years might correct, and which showed at least some geniality of temper, more amiable than his father's cold reserve.[1] We have a surer evidence of his merits in the affection in which he always lived with his more popular cousin, and the tenderness he displayed for the bereaved children. Of these the eldest, known by the name of Nero, was now sixteen; the second, Drusus, was younger by a single year; while Caius, the third, was only eleven. The family had consisted altogether of nine, a number apparently very unusual in a Roman household.[2]

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Some fresh incursions of Tacfarinas at this period within the borders of the African province induced the Emperor to address a missive to the senate, to whom the government attached, requiring it to

Renewed disturbances in Africa.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 44., iii. 37.; Dion, lvii. 13, 14.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 28.: Nec alio magis Drusus Cæsar regenerasse patrem Tiberium ferebatur.

[2] The horrid practice of exposure and infanticide—Numerum liberorum finire, as Tacitus gently qualifies it (*Germ.* 19.)—has been already referred to. Compare further Tertullian, *Apologet.* 9. The fact that women bore, at least in later times, no distinctive prænomen, is terribly significant. It seems to show how few daughters in a family were reared.

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appoint an efficient proconsul without delay, to undertake the task of finally reducing him. The provinces allotted to the senate were precisely those in which there was least apprehension of any serious hostilities, or prospect of the active employment of their governors in the camp. To equip an army for actual service, to select an experienced commander, and send him forth to reap laurels, and perhaps to earn a triumph, was to trench upon the imperial prerogative; the submissive senators shrank from exercising a right which accident had thus put into their hands, and begged leave to refer the choice of a general to the emperor. With his usual dissimulation, Tiberius affected some displeasure at the duties of the Conscript Fathers being thus thrown upon himself; for he already bore, as he declared, a heavier load of responsibility than one man could well sustain. He refused to do more than nominate two candidates, M. Lepidus and Junius Blæsus, between whom he required the senate to make the final selection. Both disclaimed the honour; but Blæsus was uncle to Sejanus, and for him, as was well known, the appointment was actually reserved. The excuses of Lepidus were accordingly accepted, those of his rival, probably less sincere, were courteously waived; and the favourite of the emperor was gratified by the elevation of a kinsman, of no previous distinction, to a place of power, which he might employ perhaps, at some future period, for the advancement of his own fortunes.[1]

Blæsus appointed proconsul.

The consulship of Drusus was distinguished,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 35.

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however, by commotions of far greater importance in another quarter of the empire. The success with which the Germans had defended their liberties against the Roman invaders, had not been unobserved by the nations, pacified though they were, and bowed to the yoke for three quarters of a century, within the Rhine. For their advantage the discovery seemed to be made, that the legions were not invincible; perhaps they read the secret of this decline of their efficiency in the mutinous spirit which had been manifested within the presidiary encampments. The panic which had recently pervaded Italy, the alarm Augustus had himself exhibited, and the violent measure of expelling the dreaded Germans from the city, were accepted as a confession of weakness. At the same time the exactions of the Roman fiscal officers were continued and perhaps redoubled; the demands made for military supplies had become intolerably grievous: at last some chiefs of the native tribes, men who had been distinguished with the franchise of the city, and admitted into the name and clientele of the imperial house, were roused by the general discontent, or their own ambitious hopes, to intrigue against the power of the conquerors. The ramifications of their conspiracy extended, it was said, through every tribe in the country; its chief centres were among the Belgæ in the north, and the Ædui in the interior; the most prominent of its leaders in the one quarter bore the Roman appellation of Julius Florus, in the other of Julius Sacrovir, a name which seems to mark him as a man of priestly family, and armed, therefore, with

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all the influence of his proscribed caste. But the measures of the patriot chiefs were disconcerted by the premature outbreak of the Andi and Turones. Sacrovir himself, in order to save appearances, was compelled to head his auxiliary cohorts by the side of the Roman legionaries, and assist in coercing his own imprudent allies. Nevertheless his real sentiments did not escape suspicion; and when he threw off his helmet on the field of battle, in the exuberance, as he protested, of his courage and resolution, some of the rebel captives did not hesitate to declare that he had made himself known to his friends to divert their missiles in other directions. Tiberius was made aware of this presumed treachery, but he thought fit to take no notice of it.[1]

Insurrection of the Belgæ suppressed.

The speedy reduction of the Turones and Andi did not suppress the meditated revolt. When the moment arrived the Belgæ were not unfaithful to their engagements, notwithstanding this discouragement. Florus gained over a few Treviran auxiliaries, and gave the signal for revolt by the massacre of some Roman traders. His ranks were soon swelled by followers of his own clan, and by the needy and oppressed of the surrounding tribes; but unable to make head against the Romans in the field they were driven to seek a refuge in the dense forests of the Ardennes. Here they were surrounded, captured, and disarmed, chiefly by the efforts of a personal enemy of Florus, a Gaul who

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 40.: Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem æris alieni rebellionem cœptavere. Ibid. 41.: Tiberius . . . aluit dubitatione bellum.

bore himself the name of Julius Indus. Florus now threw himself upon his own sword, and the Belgian insurrection was at once suppressed. The resistance of the Ædui under Sacrovir, who flew at the same time to arms, was more resolute and proved more formidable: the vigour of this tribe was greater, its resources and alliances more considerable, and the forces of the Romans were stationed at a greater distance from it. The rumour of the disaffection was even greater than the reality. It was reported at Rome that no less than sixty-four Gaulish states had revolted in a body, that the German tribes had united their forces with them, that the obedience of either Spain was trembling in the balance. The flower of the youth of the entire province were collected in the imperial university at Augustodunum. Arms had been purchased or fabricated in secret, and there were many brave young hands to wield them. The chiefs of every clan were follow to the field by hosts of slaves and clients, very imperfectly equipped; but considerable reliance was placed on the native gladiators, of whom some troops were maintained in the Romanized capital, who were clad in complete chain or scale armour, and were expected to form an immovable and impenetrable phalanx.[1] It required a pitched battle, with numerous armies arrayed on both sides, to bring this last revolt to an issue. Nevertheless, when Silius, the Roman general, was at leisure to

A.D. 21. A.U. 774. Resistance of the Ædui under Sacrovir.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 43.: Crupellarios vocant. Thierry derives the word from the Gaelic "crup," "resserrer et aussi rendre impotent; crupach et crioplach, perclus, manchot." Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 275.

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direct two legions, with their auxiliary cohorts from their quarters in Belgica, against the centre of this insurrection, its power of resistance was found to be far below the alarm it had created. The Roman soldiers were animated with the most determined spirit; the hope of plunder among the opulent cities of the long pacified province nerved their discipline and courage, while the approach of the successors of the Cæsarean conquerors spread dismay among the raw levies of the Gauls. At the twelfth milestone from Augustodunum the insurgents awaited the advance of the Romans.[1] Their main body, consisting chiefly of the naked or light-armed, was speedily broken and put to flight; the mail-clad stood their ground, because they were unable to shift it; but poles, axes, and pitchforks completed the work of the sword, and once overthrown the iron masses could rise no more.

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Death of Sacrovir and com pletion of the war.

Sacrovir the Druid, the leader and soul of the rebellion, had effected his escape from the field; but his associates, now cowed and spiritless, refused to defend Augustodunum, and threatened to deliver him into the hands of the victors. Flying from thence to a neighbouring homestead, he engaged his few faithful companions to sacrifice themselves over his body in mutual combat, having first fired the house, and involved the scene of blood in a general conflagration. It was not till this catastrophe was accomplished that Tiberius could pro-

[1] The site of this battle must, in all probability, have been to the north of Augustodunum, on the road into Belgica, from whence the Romans were advancing. It would, therefore, be almost on the spot where Cæsar routed the Helvetii in his first campaign.

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claim, in a letter to the senate, the origin and at the same time the completion of the war.[1] He could now afford, without exciting too much apprehension, to give a full and fair account of the recent danger, and to apportion their due meed of praise to his commanders, while he claimed for himself the merit of having directed their movements from a distance. He condescended to excuse himself and Drusus for having allowed an affair of so much moment to be transacted in the field without their own active participation. It was, he felt, something new in the military annals of the republic, that the imperator, the commander of her armies and the minister of her policy, and the consul, the executive instrument of her will, should entrust her vital interests to the hands of tribunes and lieutenants: but the capital was becoming, under the regimen of a single man, of far more importance than the frontiers, and any cause of alarm from abroad must redound with double force on the centre of the empire. Now that the alarm was removed, he added, he might venture himself to quit Rome, and visit the districts so recently disturbed. The senate applauded his sagacity, and decreed a Supplication for the return he promised from his sojourn in a suburban pleasure house, such as had often been tendered for Augustus, after his distant and perilous expeditions. The proposal of an individual flatterer, that he should be invited

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 47.: Tum demum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum senatui scripsit. Velleius (ii. 129.) turns this into a compliment: Quantæ molis bellum .... mira celeritate compressit, ut ante P. R. vicisse quam bellare cognosceret, nuntiosque periculi victoriæ præcederet nuntius!

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to enter the city from Campania with the honours of an ovation, he declined, not perhaps without some feeling of resentment at an excess of officious adulation, which seemed to savour of mockery.

The Tribunitian power conferred upon Drusus, in conjunction with Tiberius. A.D. 22. A.U. 775.

Probably the emperor had no real intention of quitting Italy. His years and increasing infirmities might furnish a colourable excuse; the constant pressure of business close at home was in fact an adequate reason. From day to day the obsequious senators continued to urge him to regulate by his mere word every public concern, and as constantly did he reply with formal and diffuse epistles, reproving them for their indolence or timidity, and then proceeding to discuss, balance, and decide upon the questions submitted to his attention. In the year 775, on the completion of his son's consulship, he desired the senate to confer upon him the Tribunitian power in conjunction with himself, as Agrippa had been joined with Augustus, and afterwards himself, in the highest of all honorary titles. It was as a mere title indeed rather than a substantive office and function that the jealous emperor meant this dignity to be imparted. As such it might suffice to answer the murmurs he anticipated on the avowal of his own debility. Nevertheless, amidst every outward demonstration of subservience and respect, the new appointment was canvassed in some quarters with freedom, and received with ill-disguised dissatisfaction. The pride, it is said, of the presumptive emperor made him unpopular in the senate; and he was not reputed to have yet fairly earned, though indeed he had served the republic at home and

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abroad for eight years, a claim to be thus definitively designated as the future autocrat of Rome. The loyalty of the Romans, at least of the proud and querulous nobles, bore still a skin of soft and delicate texture, which might be wounded by the slightest shifting of the trappings in which it had arrayed itself.[1]

Ambition and intrigues of Sejanus.

But this discontent at the elevation of Drusus, and the complaints that he, at least, had no excuse from age or infirmity for declining the hardships of provincial service, to which nevertheless his father did not choose to dismiss him, were prompted or fostered, we may believe, by the wily artifices of Sejanus. The unparalleled indulgence this man had obtained from his patron only inspired him with the guilty ambition of supplanting the more legitimate object of imperial favour. His influence had acquired the government of Africa for his uncle, and with it the command of an army, and the conduct of an important war. On the successful issue of the campaigns in which Blæsus was now engaged, and on the final defeat, as he vaunted, of the daring foe, who, though regarded by the Romans as no better than a deserter and a bandit, had presumed to offer terms of accommodation with the emperor on the footing of a rival potentate, Sejanus succeeded in getting him permission to accept the imperatorial title from his soldiers; a military distinction now rarely and reluctantly accorded, treading, as it apparently did, too closely upon the imperial designation of the chief of the state himself. Even Augustus had discountenanced the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 56. 59.

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licence earned and claimed by the legions at the close of a well fought day. Blæsus was the last Roman officer in whose case this military salutation was formally sanctioned by the emperor. It was only as the proconsul of a senatorial province that he could have any pretence for hearkening to it; and it was authorized this last time out of regard only for Sejanus, Tiberius resolving, we may believe, never again to place a nominee of the senate in a position to merit it.[1] It was fitting that the last surviving witness of the glories of the ancient Republic should expire with this final flickering of its military independence. At the close of this year, the commencement of the sixty-fourth since the fatal era of Philippi, Junia Tertulla, the niece of Cato, the wife of Cassius, the sister of Brutus, was carried to the resting place of her illustrious house.[2] In her had centred the revenues as well as the traditions of many noble families, and she gratified a just pride by distributing her riches by will among the most distinguished personages of the city, omitting only the emperor himself. Tiberius bore the slight without remark, and permitted the virtues of the deceased to be celebrated in a speech before the Rostra, which could not fail to revive the memory of a thousand republican glories.

Death and obsequies of Junia Tertulla.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 74. De la Bleterie remarks (*Mem. Acad. Inscr.* xxi.) that Cornelius Balbus, the last private citizen who triumphed, and Blæsus, the last who was saluted imperator, were both proconsuls of a senatorial province, the only one in which military operations might be anticipated. The next emperor withdrew the legion of Africa from the command of the senatorial proconsul, and placed it, as we shall see, under an officer of his own appointment.

[2] The battle of Philippi was fought in the autumn of 712.

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Only the leaders of the funeral procession, when they carried before the bier the images of the Manlii, the Quinctii, the Servilii, and the Junii, and in all of twenty of the noblest houses of Rome, were instructed to forbear from presenting to the public gaze the busts of Cassius and Brutus, who, in the pithy words of the historian, were in fact all the more remarked for the absence of their illustrious effigies.[1]

Sejanus establishes the Prætorian camp. A.D. 23. A.U. 776.

The success which had thus far attended the intrigues of Sejanus, had inspired him with hopes the most unbounded. The prefecture of the city, with which he had been invested, was the immediate instrument of the imperial will, and though before his accession to it, it had been held by Messala, Taurus, and Piso, among the most justly honoured names in Rome, it was not of a nature to confer either power or dignity itself. But the new adventurer conceived a design of making it efficient for the advancement of an inordinate ambition. Hitherto the soldiers of the Prætorian guard, who were placed under his orders, were quartered, nine or ten thousand in number, in small barracks at various points throughout the city, or in the neighbouring towns.[2] Dispersed in these numerous cantonments, they were the less available on any sudden emergency: they were subjected to a very relaxed discipline, and scattered up and down among the citizens, were liable to be tampered with by the turbulent or disloyal.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 76.: Sed præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus eo ipso quod effigies eorum non visebantur.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 2. Dion, 10,000, Tacitus and Suetonius, 9000.

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Yet Augustus had never ventured on a step so bold and novel as to bring them all together into a camp, and let the citizens see and number the garrison by which they really were enthralled. He had kept no more than three cohorts or eighteen hundred men within the walls. It was left for the days of confirmed and acknowledged royalty, and the private ambition of a minister, to achieve this regal consummation. Perhaps the terror of the Varian disaster, when the city itself was supposed for a moment to be defenceless against a foreign foe, gave the first excuse or colour for the change which was speedily introduced. Beyond the north-eastern angle of the city, and between the roads which sprang from the Viminal and Colline gates, the prefect marked out a regular encampment for the quarters of these household troops. The line of the existing enclosure which was traced about two centuries later, exhibits a rectangular projection, by which the limits of the spot and its dimensions are still ascertained. An oblong space, the sides of which are five hundred and four hundred yards respectively, embracing an area of two hundred thousand square yards, was laid out in the fashion of a permanent camp for the lodgment of this numerous force.[1] Having collected his myrmidons

Its site and dimensions.

[1] The dimensions of the Prætorian camp are given in Bunsen's *Rome*, iii. 2. 359. The ordinary camp, according to the arrangement of Polybius, was a square of 2077½ English feet for a consular army of two legions, or including allies, 19,200 men. This area would contain 480,000 square yards. See General Roy's *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*. According to the system of Hyginus, in the time of Trajan, the soldiers were packed much more closely,

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together, the prefect began to ply them with flatteries and indulgences: he appointed all their officers, their tribunes and centurions, and at the same time found means, through the agency of the senate, of advancing his creatures to employment in the provinces. It was strange to see how Tiberius shut his eyes to the manœuvres thus practised before his face. On the most public occasions he loudly proclaimed that Sejanus was the associate of his own labours: he permitted his busts and statues to be set up in the theatres and forums, and even to receive the salutation of the soldiers in the camp.[1]

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Machinations of Sejanus against Drusus.

Still, notwithstanding these unprecedented marks of favour, and the symptoms they revealed of the emperor's infirmity and blindness, Sejanus could not fail to see, in the recent elevation of Drusus, how far his master yet was from contemplating the transfer of the empire from his son to a stranger. To remove the rival whom he despaired of supplanting was become necessary for his own security; for Drusus was instinctively hostile to him; he had murmured at his pretensions, unveiled his intrigues, and even in the petulance of power had raised his hand against him.[2] The prince had complained that his father, though having a son of his own, had in fact devolved no small portion of the government upon a mere alien. Sejanus, he muttered, was regarded by the people as the

[1] Tac. iv. 2.: Facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud Patres et Populum celebraret; colique per theatra et fora effigies ejus, interque principia legionum sineret.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 3.

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emperor's actual colleague: the camp of the Prætorians was the creation of his caprice for the advancement of his authority; the soldiers had transferred to him their military allegiance, and his image had been openly exhibited as an object of popular interest in the theatre of Pompeius.[1] Moreover he had already contracted an alliance with the family of the Cæsars by the betrothal of his daughter to a son of Claudius, the surviving brother of Germanicus.[2] But Drusus was married to a weak and vain woman, whom Sejanus, by affecting a violent passion for her, had succeeded in seducing and attaching vehemently to his interests. Divorcing, as the first step in his designs, his own consort, Apicata, he had extended to Livilla the prospect of marriage with himself, and therewith of a share in the empire to which she encouraged him to aspire. Such at least was the story which was long afterwards revealed by the confessions under torture of the slaves of the guilty pair; a story of little value, perhaps, except as displaying the current of popular opinion; for the wife of Drusus, it might be supposed, was already nearer to the throne than the paramour of Sejanus. Probably the unfortunate woman consulted no other tempter than her own passion for her seducer, and was

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 7.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 29.: Adversis animis acceptum quod filio Claudii socer Sejanus destinaretur. This marriage did not take effect, Drusus, the son of Claudius, dying by a singular accident while yet a child, a few days after the betrothal. Suet. *Claud.* 27.: Drusum Pompeiis impuberem amisit piro, per lusum in sublime jacto et hiatu oris excepto, strangulatum; cui et ante paucos dies filiam Sejani despondisset. Dion, lx. 32.

persuaded to listen to his solicitations for the removal of the obstacle between them.[1] With the help of a confidential physician and a corrupt slave, they contrived, after many delays, to administer poison to the prince, of which he lingered long enough before dying to give his decline the appearance of a casual sickness, brought on, as some imagined, by intemperance.[2]

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Firmness, real or affected, of Tiberius at this loss.

The loss of the unfortunate son of Tiberius seems to have been attended with none of those passionate regrets which have thrown a mournful interest over the decease of his nephew. The family of the favourite of the people seemed, on the contrary, to recover charms and lustre from the disaster which thus befel the rival branch of the imperial house. No suspicion was aroused, no inquiry at least was made into the cause of the young Cæsar's death. The image of antique fortitude which Tiberius piqued himself on presenting, caused some curious remarks, but little of admiration, among

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 8.: Sejanus, maturandum ratus, deligit venenum, quo paulatim irrepente, fortuitus morbus adsimularetur: id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est. Another version of the story, which Tacitus cannot refrain from repeating, though he acknowledges how little it deserved credit, was, that Sejanus contrived to poison the cup which Drusus was about to present to his father, and warned Tiberius not to accept it; whereupon Drusus, having no suspicion of the fraud, and anxious in his innocence to avert suspicion, himself swallowed the draught. Tiberius, however, was persuaded that he committed the suicide in despair on being discovered. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 10. Such were the fantastic horrors which obtained credence among the citizens, and such wild credulity is perhaps the strongest evidence of their fears and sufferings.

[2] This was the cause, according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 62.), to which Tiberius himself was induced to attribute it.

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the soft impulsive people, who had long cast aside the iron mask of their ancient discipline. Entering the senate, where the consuls had relinquished, in sign of public mourning, their places of honour, and were sitting promiscuously on the common benches of the senators, he bade them resume their curule chairs, and declared that for himself, he found his only consolation in the performance, more strictly than ever, of his public duties. Tearing himself from the corpse of his child and the embraces of his family, he threw himself, with redoubled devotion, into the affairs of the republic. He lamented the extreme old age of his mother Livia, his own declining years, now deprived of the support of sons and nephews, and asked leave to recommend to the assembled fathers the last survivors of his hopes, the youthful children of Germanicus. The consuls sprang to their feet, and left the room to conduct the young Nero and Drusus into the assembly. They placed them before the emperor, who taking them by the hand exclaimed, *These orphans I placed under the protection of their uncle, entreating him to regard them as his own. Now that he too is dead, I turn to you, Fathers, and adjure you by the Gods of our country to receive, to cherish, and direct these great grandchildren of Augustus.* Then turning to the young men he added, *Nero and Drusus, behold your parents: in the station to which you have been born, your good and evil are the good and evil of the state.*[1]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* IV. 8.: Ita nati estis ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.

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In betraying the hollowness of his conduct to a generation keenly alive to an overacted hypocrisy, Tiberius showed how little he comprehended the character of the times. Augustus might repeat the farce of pretending to restore the Republic; but when the second Princeps now proposed, in the fulness of his simulated affliction, to imitate this magnanimity of his predecessor, every feeling of compassion for the loss he deplored and of transient admiration for his fortitude was overwhelmed by a sense of ridicule. It was a relief to both parties to divert their labouring thoughts with the splendid pageant of a funeral, in which the long line of heroes of the Julian and Claudian houses, from Æneas and the Alban kings on one side, from Clausus, the Sabine chieftain, on the other, was represented by their genuine or imaginary effigies. Even while Tiberius was pronouncing the expected eulogy on the virtues of the deceased, Sejanus, attending at his side, might be emboldened, by the coolness with which the citizens received it, to plan the full development of his schemes by a succession of fresh atrocities. The brave Agrippina was not of a character to be corrupted like the weak Livilla: her virtue was invincible, and her vigilance never slept in guarding her children from the perils that environed them. But the circumstances of her bereavement, and the favour which had been extended to her enemy Plancina, had left a fatal impression on her mind. With a rooted distrust of the emperor she joined a bold and no doubt a fierce and violent spirit. Like a true Roman she exercised without fear or shame the

The Romans ridicule Tiberius's pretended offer to restore the republic.

The masculine virtues of Agrippina.

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national licence of the tongue, and in a court where no whisper was not repeated, proclaimed aloud to every listener the wrongs of which she deemed herself the victim.[1] The fertility with which her marriage had been blest had been long a source of jealousy to the morbid self-love of the empress mother, which even in extreme old age, and though her son had reached the summit of her wishes, was piqued by the maternal taunts of this Niobe of the palace.[2] The court was filled with spies and intriguers, encouraged by Sejanus, with the assurance of the favour of the emperor himself, to place the worst construction upon her words and actions, and to entice her by insidious artifices to give utterance to every sentiment of pride and impatience.

Tiberius apparently jealous of the family of Germanicus.

To the suspicion that he was really hostile in heart to his nephew's family, Tiberius gave perhaps some colour by the moroseness with which he repelled the compliment to them, by which some of his least wary courtiers now sought to gratify him. When the priests directed that vows should be offered for the health of the Princeps himself, conjoining therewith the names of Nero and Drusus, he rebuked them impatiently for their unseasonable officiousness. But with his usual maladroitness, the terms he used were such as seemed to imply a feeling of jealousy towards the young men. He complained that to join them with himself in this prayer for the imperial family was to make as much of their health, young and vigorous as they were, as of the grave infirmity of years under which he felt himself to labour. *Did*

[1] Tertull. *Apol.* 25.: Illa lingua Romana. [2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 12.

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you this, he peevishly added, *at the request of Agrippina, or were you moved to it by her menaces?* When they protested warmly against either imputation, he recollected himself, and confined himself to a moderate rebuke, at the same time desiring the senate to abstain for the future from exciting a giddy ambition by premature distinctions.[1] Sejanus followed in his master's key, and declared his alarm lest the state should be split into factions by the partisans of Agrippina and her children. He even recommended measures for reducing the influence of some of the nobles who had shown most alacrity in serving them. Tiberius, sore and vexed with himself and all others about him, acquiesced in every counsel his only favourite administered to him: he showed his ill-humour by a captiousness which could never refrain from bitter speeches even on the most trifling occasions. Disregard and sympathy seemed to be equally distasteful to him. When the citizens of Ilium sent envoys to condole with him on the death of Drusus, a deputation which could not reach him till some months after the event, he condoled with them in return for the loss of their excellent countryman Hector.[2]

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Deterioration of the principate of Tiberius from the year 776.

The year 776, the ninth of Tiberius, is marked by Tacitus as the turning point in the character of the second Principate. Up to this time the government, he affirms, had been conducted with honour and advantage to the commonwealth; and thus far the emperor, he adds, might fairly plume himself on his domestic felicity, *for the death of Germanicus he reckoned among his blessings, rather than his*

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 17.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 52.

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afflictions. From that period, however, fortune began to waver and change: sorrows and disappointments harassed him and soured his temper; he became cruel himself, and he stimulated the cruelty of others.[1] The mover and contriver of the atrocities which followed, it was allowed on all hands, was the wretched Sejanus. Their instruments were the corrupt and profligate courtiers, who pressed forward to earn the rewards of delation, and soon outstripped by their assiduity even the ardour of Sejanus himself. While the intrigues of the aspiring favourite were directed against the friends and allies of the family of Germanicus, Tiberius was perhaps unconscious, in his retirement in Campania, of the secret machinations of the prefect, and seemed to wonder more and more at the zeal of his subjects in hunting down all whom they presumed to be his enemies, and bringing them to condign justice. His personal fears, and by this time the selfishness of his character had degenerated into excessive timidity, were constantly excited by the pretended discovery of plots against him. The wife of Silius, the pacifier of Gaul, was a friend of Agrippina: her husband accordingly was marked out for the first victim, and accused of the gravest crimes against the state.[2] It was affirmed that he had connived at the ripening projects of Sacrovir, instead of crushing the conspiracy in the germ: even when victorious, his triumph, it was insinuated, was sullied by selfish cupidity, and the faithful

Fate of C. Silius.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 1.: Cum repente turbare fortuna cœpit; sævire ipse aut sævientibus vires præbere.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 19.

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subjects of the empire had been made to groan under exactions which should have been confined to those who had joined in the rebellion. Such, it was said, was the vehemence and pertinacity with which these charges were pressed upon him, that despairing of his defence, he anticipated the inevitable sentence by a voluntary death.[1] He was not perhaps wholly innocent. But his wife, moreover, was driven into banishment; and the emperor's appetite for prosecution was at length whetted, to the great satisfaction of the tribe of delators, by the rich plunder which he was persuaded to taste. The treasures which Silius was convicted of having extorted from the provincials were in no case restored to them. Among the throng of courtiers who sought to approve themselves to the government by enhancing the penalties of the condemned, the only course which remained for the best and wisest senators was to mitigate indirectly the dangers of the accused, by restricting the rewards of delation. M. Lepidus earned distinction in this small but honourable band by the proposal, which was, however, probably ineffectual, that the profits of the accusers should be limited to one fourth of the culprit's fortune, while the remainder was to be restored to his guiltless children. It was considered worthy of

[1] The object of this suicide, a course to which we shall find the accused not unfrequently resort, was the hope of preventing the confiscation of property which would follow upon a judicial sentence. Silius, whatever gains he had acquired in his province, had been enriched by the liberality of Augustus, and in seizing upon his fortune for the fiscus, Tiberius for the first time showed an appetite for personal lucre: Prima erga pecuniam alienam diligentia. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 20.

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remark, amidst so many instances of servility in the nobles and jealousy in their masters, that such a proposal should have been made at all, and made without being resented. Tacitus, as a disciple of the school of the Fatalists, of which the language at least was fashionable in his day, is constrained on this occasion to inquire whether the favour or hostility of princes is a matter of mere chance and destiny, or whether there may not still be room for prudent counsel and good sense in the conduct of human affairs; whether a secure path of life, however hard to trace, might not still be discovered amidst the perils of the times, between the extremes of rude independence and base servility.[1] The great defect of the Romans at this period lay in their want of the true self-respect which is engendered by the consciousness of sober consistency. Bred in the speculative maxims of Greek and Roman republicanism, they passed their manhood either in unlearning the lessons of the schools, or in exaggerating them in a spirit of senseless defiance.

Prosecution and suicide of Cremutius Cordus.

Silius, it would seem, had laid himself open to the attacks of the informers, and there were others against whom the favourite's intrigues were directed, whose public crimes or personal vices had alienated from them the compassion of the citizens. Nevertheless another of his victims seems to have been a man of real merit, though not of such a description as to engage for him a great amount of popular sym-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 20.: Unde dubitare cogor fato et sorte nascendi, ut cætera, ita Principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos: an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter periculis et metu vacuum.

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pathy. Cremutius Cordus was a philosopher and an historian,—the two characters were then generally united,—who had composed the Annals of the Roman Commonwealth during the period of the Civil Wars. He had praised the patriotism of Brutus, and had called Cassius *the last of the Romans*, a phrase which, at a time when the only question among the philosophers seemed to be, whether to kill oneself or one's enemy is the proper business of the wise man in trouble, was not a mere speculative inquiry, but a pungent incentive to violence. Augustus, indeed, had actually perused the volume, and though he found in it no panegyric on himself, did not complain of it as disloyal or dangerous. But Augustus was strong in the affections of his people, and could afford to disregard the sophisms of the most vehement of declaimers. Tiberius was far from sharing the confidence of his predecessor. He felt or fancied every moment that he felt his throne tottering under him; but it was this very sense of weakness that induced him to abstain from any act which might perchance arouse the people of Rome from the lethargy into which they had fallen. It was not till the conduct of affairs came into the hands of a minister with personal ends to serve, that such experiments were made upon the general patience or apathy, as the prosecution of a respectable private citizen, such as Cremutius, for the expression of a political opinion. The accusers were clients of Sejanus, and though we know not what was the special object of the favourite's hostility, we may suppose that the philosopher was known as

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a friend of Agrippina's party. Whatever, however, was his real crime, the charge against him was that of exciting the citizens to rebellion; a charge which no judges in modern times could deem to be rebutted by the reply that the ostensible objects of his praise had been dead seventy years. To urge as an argument that Augustus had tolerated his language a little while before was merely trifling: every government must judge from the circumstances of its own time of the licence that may be accorded to hostile criticism, and the circumstances of the later period were essentially different from those of the earlier. But the victim of Sejanus had no security for a fair trial, for a reasonable hearing, or a temperate sentence. He provoked his judges and aggravated his offence by hastening to anticipate injustice by violence. Cremutius, now an old man, having delivered himself of a speech, such perhaps as Tacitus ascribes to him, full of the bitterest invective against the government and the times, went home without awaiting the proceedings with which he was threatened, and put an end to his own life by starvation. His books were ordered to be burnt; but some copies of them were preserved, and all the more diligently studied by the few who had secreted them.[1]

Tiberius interferes to check the delators.

It must be remembered that in the peculiar position of Tiberius, policy required him to give wide scope to individual action in matters that did not immediately concern his own power and se-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34, 35. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 61.; *Calig.* 16.; Dion, lvii. 24.; Senec. *Consol. ad Marc.* 1. 22.

curity. For the persecution of citizens by citizens he was not at least legally responsible: and it was one of those shadows of liberty which he was careful in conceding, to allow his subjects the gratification of their private enmities before the ordinary tribunals. The peculiar constitution of the Roman legal procedure, which permitted and indeed urged every citizen to assume the character of a public prosecutor, served to exonerate the chief of the state, in the view of his own countrymen, from a large portion of the odium which later ages have cast upon him. At the same time instances of firmness which he occasionally exhibited, in spontaneously interposing to check the licentiousness of his people, were regarded by the citizens as examples of supererogatory justice and consideration, and continued to secure him, among so many motives they had for disliking him, no small share of their respect and even their favour. Thus, when Plautius Sylvanus, a prætor, was hurried before him, on the charge of having murdered his wife, and pleaded that she had, without his knowledge, laid violent hands on herself, he marched direct to the chamber of the accused, and satisfied himself by personal examination of the unquestionable signs of a struggle and murder it exhibited. Such vigour and presence of mind could not fail to make a favourable impression upon the multitude.[1] When Calpurnius Salvianus brought a charge against a noble citizen on the day of the Latin Feriæ, he resented the desecration of that holy season, and caused the intemperate accuser to be

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 22., A.U. 777.

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himself banished.[1] Again, when Vibius Serenus was condemned for seditious intrigues, on the accusation of his own unnatural son, and the senate proceeded without hesitation to sentence him to death, Tiberius interposed to annul the decree, and desired his precipitate judges to pass a second vote. Hereupon Asinius Gallus proposed that, instead of death, the criminal should be relegated to the isle of Gyarus or Donusa; and again Tiberius, observing that those barren rocks were destitute even of water, declared that where life was conceded the necessaries of life ought not to be withheld.[2] In the case of a knight named Cominius, who had been condemned for the publication of libellous verses against himself, he extended to the convicted criminal a free pardon.[3] Such exhibitions of lenity might contrast not unfavourably with the relentless ferocity of the nobles towards one another; they allowed the citizens still to believe that in the dangerous and gloomy times upon which they had fallen, their best protection lay in the Princeps of the Roman commonwealth, elevated by his station above the ordinary passions of the envious and malignant among themselves. They were full of gratitude to him also for the good fortune which

The Romans acknowledge

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 36., A.U. 778.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 30. The treatment of the exiles seems generally to have been sufficiently mild. They seem to have been allowed to a great extent the choice of their island; and when Augustus forbade them to settle at any spot within fifty miles of the continent, he excepted the pleasant retreats of Cos, Rhodes, and Lesbos. He also confined them to a single vessel of a thousand amphoræ and two pinnaces for the voyage and conveyance of their families, which further were limited to twenty slaves or freedmen. Dion, lvi. 27.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 31., A.U. 777.

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seemed to attend on his public administration. He had been enabled to suppress, by a happy accident, an alarming insurrection of slaves in Apulia, the nurse of servile seditions.[1] The year 777 had witnessed the final pacification of Africa.[2] While the emperor, out of compliment perhaps to the success attributed to Blæsus, had imprudently withdrawn a large part of the forces in the province, and encouraged the restless Tacfarinas to renew his attempts in that quarter, the gallantry of the new proconsul Dolabella had sufficed to bring the enemy to bay, to overpower and reduce him to self-destruction. The citizens were overjoyed at this consummation of a tedious and expensive warfare, which had sometimes threatened the supplies of their daily food, and were proud at beholding an embassy from the remote Garamantes, which came to solicit their clemency. Such, however, was the influence of Sejanus that Tiberius refused the triumphal ornaments to the victor, in order not to dim the lustre of the honours already accorded to the favourite's uncle.[3] But in the provinces, where the genuine merits of the emperor were known without those drawbacks upon them which were but too notorious at Rome, his popularity was perhaps unalloyed. When he insisted on referring from his own tribunal to the senate the charge of malversation, which the people of Asia brought against the imperial procurator, and the

A.D. 24. A.U. 777. the good fortune of his administration.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 27., A.U. 777.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 23.: Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 26.

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senate, thus encouraged, ventured to condemn the culprit, the grateful provincials decreed a temple to Tiberius in conjunction with Livia and the Senate of Rome. This example was about to be followed by the people of Further Spain: but on this occasion the emperor declined the honour; an act of modesty for which he acquired little credit, at least among his own countrymen, who regarded it as pusillanimous and mean. *The best of mortals*, they complacently urged, *had ever aspired to the highest distinctions; thus Hercules and Bacchus among the Greeks, and Quirinus among the Romans, had sought and gained a place among the gods of Olympus: Augustus had lived a hero's life in the hopes of such an apotheosis. Princes*, they said, *may command the present, but it should be their dearest ambition thus to take pledges for the future; indifference to fame is in fact a disregard of virtue.*[1]

Sejanus demands of Tiberius the hand of Livilla.

At the extraordinary elevation to which he had now arrived, the head of the favourite began to whirl, and to his fevered imagination the utmost objects of his ambition seemed almost within reach. Once admitted within the pale of the Cæsarean family, there would be no distinction, divine or human, which he might not hope to fall spontaneously upon him. The last and most arduous step yet remaining to be effected by his own happy boldness, was to secure his own entrance therein by marriage with the widow of Drusus. If he had any hesitation at the last moment in taking the plunge which must mar his fortunes, if it failed to make them, the instances of Livilla herself, the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 38.: Contemptu famæ contemni virtutes.

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partner of his guilt and the depositary of his secret, could not safely be disregarded; the impatience of the woman overcame the last lingering scruples of his long-cherished discretion. Sejanus composed an address to the emperor; for Tiberius, shy and ever fearful of committing himself, had now adopted the custom, most foreign to the free-spoken habits of the Roman nobles, of requiring every suit to be made to him in writing. *The favour of Augustus*, urged the suitor, *in the first instance, and latterly the many tokens of approbation he had received from his successor, had taught him ever to confide his wishes to the ears of the Prince, even before disclosing them to the immortal Gods. For splendid honours he had never sued; to watch and toil in the ranks for the safety of his imperator was his privilege and pleasure. Nevertheless he had attained the fairest of all distinctions, in being associated in many public functions with the Cæsar himself. This was the foundation of his present hopes. Augustus, he had heard, in seeking to establish his daughter, had deigned to review the order of Roman knighthood. Were a husband now required for Livilla, would not Tiberius cast his eye upon a friend, one pledged to be content with the glory of such a connexion, and never to renounce the laborious duties already laid upon him. For his own part, he should be amply satisfied with the security he should thus obtain against the malice of Agrippina, and that for his children's sake, not for his own: for himself it was enough, and more than enough, to have lived so long in the intimacy of a prince so illustrious.*

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Tiberius, on receiving this application, which appears to have been wholly unlooked for, penned a hasty answer at the moment, in which he praised the regard Sejanus had ever shown him and referred slightly to the favours with which he had, on his own part, requited it. *He desired*, he said, *a short time to consider the matter more fully*; and finally replied, *that, while other men were permitted to look solely to their own advantage, princes in all affairs of moment must have regard to the opinion of the world. Accordingly*, he continued, *he would not resort to the answer which lay easiest and nearest at hand—namely, that it was for Livilla herself to determine whether, after Drusus, she would wed another, or continue to bear her adverse fortune under the roof of her father-in-law; further, that she had a mother and a grandmother, advisers nearer than himself; no, he would act more straightforwardly, and represent in person to his friend the objections which really militated against his suit. The passions of Agrippina, he would remind him, would unquestionably break out more vehemently than ever, if the marriage of Livilla should sever the imperial family; the rivalry of the women of Cæsar's house would undermine the fortunes of his children. Sejanus*, he added, *was deceived if he imagined that it was possible for him to remain in his present modest rank. Once wedded to a Caius Cæsar, and again to a Drusus, his new wife would never deign to end her career in alliance with a simple knight. Could the emperor himself permit it, did he think that the Roman people would endure it, who had witnessed her brother, her father, and their noble*

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ancestors all crowned successively with the highest honours of the state? Was it true that Augustus had for a moment contemplated the union of his daughter with the knight Proculeius, yet to whom did he actually espouse her?—first, to the illustrious Agrippa, and, secondly, to Tiberius himself, to the man, in short, whom he had destined for his successor. But in saying this the emperor felt that he touched on delicate ground. Sejanus was too useful to be discarded, too formidable to be driven to despair, and he dared not directly cut off from him even the audacious hope of association in the empire, or of succession to it. Accordingly he concluded with fair words, hinting that he had yet more important confidences in store for the friend of his bosom, and that no distinction was in fact too great for his transcendent merits, whenever the proper time should arrive for worthily acknowledging them.[1]

Alarm and renewed intrigues of Sejanus.

If such was the language Tiberius really held, I see, for my own part, no reason to doubt its sincerity. It was his habit to provide for present exigencies by any artifice that offered itself, but to leave the more distant future to circumstances. I do not imagine that he had formed at this period any deliberate intention of thwarting the ambitious views of his favourite, or had destined any one of his own kindred to the succession. But he shrank with a selfish instinct from encouraging in any quarter hopes which might get beyond his control, and again, he was alarmed at the consequences of too abruptly quashing them; so that between the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 39, 40.

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one apprehension and the other, his whole study was to keep the presumptions of those around him in a state of perpetual suspense. This was the Tiberian scheme of policy. Let those who describe Tiberius as a man of consummate ability and penetrating genius, represent it, if they can, as something eminently deep and subtle: to me it seems to bear the impress of great moral infirmity, while its execution was as clumsy as its conception was feeble. It may be questioned, however, whether this occurrence, the account of which I have taken, with all other historians, from Tacitus, is after all correctly represented. Sejanus, we are given to understand, was too well versed in courts, and familiar with the forms of an official refusal, to retain after receiving this answer any portion of his hopes: he regarded it, further, as the token of a settled enmity and design for disgracing him. Yet it would seem, in point of fact, that even after this rebuff he was not forbidden from still cherishing his brilliant anticipations, and that at a later period Livilla was suffered to enter at least into betrothal with him.[1] Nor, according to the statements of Tacitus himself, did he exhibit at the time any signs of despair. He proceeded without a pause to repair the broken meshes of his intrigues; and while he postponed, at least for the moment, his views of an imperial alliance, he revolved new plans

[1] Dion (lviii. 7.) calls her afterwards his μελλόνυμφος, which seems to imply her being actually betrothed; and we can put no less definite meaning certainly on the phrase *gener*, which is applied to him in the fragment, obscure and corrupt it is true, of Tac. *Ann.* v. 6. I am compelled to suspect that Tacitus has sacrificed the truth to introduce this interesting dramatic interlude.

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for making doubly sure the impending ruin of his rival Agrippina. But he was anxious to remove the emperor from the constant sight of the pomp and circumstance with which he continued to surround himself, of the crowds that haunted his levees, and proclaimed aloud that he was the real fountain of all imperial favour: on the one hand he feared the jealousy of his master; on the other, it was hardly less dangerous for the favourite to waive the importunate admiration of sycophants and courtiers. To divert the one and yet retain the other, one means only presented itself—namely, to induce the emperor to quit the arena of public life, and bury himself in a distant retreat, whence all his orders would pass through the hands of the minister.[1] The immediate attendants of the imperator were properly his centurions and tribunes; these were the sentinels at his chamber-door, the companions of his daily exercises; by their hands every letter to the consuls or senators would be conveyed: and Sejanus, as captain of the prætorian band, and the source of favour and promotion therein, could thus keep close watch upon the correspondence of his chief, as soon as he should have debarred him from personal intercourse with the citizens.

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Quarrel between Tiberius and Agrippina. A.D. 26. A.U. 779.

The repeated excursions Tiberius had now made from Rome, and his long continued cessations from the irksome routine of representation in the city, had confirmed his growing inclination for indolence and retirement; nor was there any difficulty in

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 41.: Sejanus non jam de matrimonio, sed altius metuens .... huc flexit ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amœnis locis degendam impelleret. Multa quippe providebat ....

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persuading him that his increasing infirmities demanded repose, after so many years of unremitting labour. But before he betook himself to the retreat he had perhaps long contemplated for his old age, some striking scenes of anger and recrimination occurred between him and Agrippina, which confirmed and exasperated whatever ill feelings subsisted between them. Among the attacks and insults which were hazarded against the wretched princess by the suitors for the favour of Sejanus, was the prosecution of her cousin Claudia Pulchra by a noble delator, on a charge of adultery combined with majesty.[1] It was affirmed that she had sought to employ poison against the emperor's life, as well as the more subtle influence of charms and incantations. When the trial came on, Agrippina rushed into the emperor's presence, at a moment when he was in the act of sacrificing to his father's divinity. *Should the same man*, she exclaimed, *offer victims to Augustus, and also persecute his children?* To this blunt address she added a shower of invectives against him, together with vehement protestations of her kinswoman's innocence. Forgetting for once, under this unexpected attack, the pertinacious reserve in which he was accustomed to wrap himself, Tiberius at last broke silence with a Greek quotation, implying,

[1] Lipsius cannot trace the origin of this Claudia, or her affinity with Agrippina. She is called her *sobrina*, *i. e.* cousin by the mother's side; and from her name I conceive that she was descended from the Claudia, daughter of P. Clodius Pulcher, to whom Augustus was originally affianced, and whose husband is not known. Her only real connexion with the imperial family was in the marriage of her son Quintilius Varus to a daughter of Agrippina and Germanicus.

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Must I be denounced as a tyrant because you are not a queen?[1] Rebuffed by this cold sarcasm, Agrippina retired hastily to her chamber, and flung herself upon her couch, where rage and mortification, combined with the news of Claudia's condemnation, threw her into a dangerous fever. When Tiberius visited her sick-room, the poor creature's spirit was so much broken, that she burst into tears, and implored him to take pity upon her solitary state by giving her a husband to be her support and defender. She was still young, she said, and fit to become again a mother, and brought up in all the dignity of Roman matronhood, she could find no solace except in a lawful husband. There were many nobles, she remarked, who would proudly assume the right of protecting the widow and children of Germanicus. Tiberius, thus abruptly solicited on a point which deeply concerned his policy, might have replied in nearly the same terms as those he had addressed to Sejanus: his duty to the state, as Tacitus himself allows, would not suffer him to countenance a request which must issue in fresh jealousies and enmities between the members of the imperial family. But he did not choose to reveal to an impatient woman the apprehensions to which the accomplishment of her wishes would subject him, or make the humiliating confession that he could not venture in all respects to follow the exalted policy of Augustus: lest he should give an opening for inconvenient discussion, he left her, in his awkward way, without speaking a word.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 52.: Correptamque Græco versu admonuit: non ideo lædi quia non regnaret.

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The scene which thus passed in the recesses of the palace was not generally disclosed, but was recorded in her private memoirs by the daughter of Agrippina herself, a personage of whom I shall have much to relate hereafter.[1]

Suspicions against Tiberius instilled into the mind of Agrippina.

In the height of her distress, and when the vexations of her position had thrown her more than ever off her guard, Sejanus contrived to instil fresh and yet more shocking suspicions into the mind of the unfortunate princess, which served only to complete the disgust and alienation of Tiberius. The minister's creatures ventured, under the guise of friendly care for her, to insinuate that her uncle was seeking an opportunity of poisoning her, and enjoined her to avoid partaking of food at his table. The widow of Germanicus was residing under the roof of the head of the Cæsarean family: there were no separate establishments for princes or princesses of the blood imperial; but it was only on special occasions, perhaps, that the emperor invited the females of his house to sup in company with him. Agrippina had neither the art nor the temper to dissemble. Reclining by the side of her host, she rejected every dish presented to her with cold and impassive mien, and without excuse or observation. Tiberius could not fail to remark her behaviour,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 53.: Quæ Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit. It is natural to surmise that the revelations of the palace, at least which our historians relate, are derived in a great measure from these family memoirs, and it is impossible to overlook the probability that the conduct both of Tiberius and Sejanus would be seriously misrepresented by an hereditary enemy to both. At a later period I shall have occasion to show more particularly how another history appears to have been vitiated by her unscrupulous malice.

nor to guess its motive. To assure himself, he offered her some apples with his own hand, recommending their flavour to her; but she, all the more confirmed in her suspicions, handed them untasted to the attendants. Hereupon Tiberius turned to his mother, who was placed on the other side, and muttered, it was said, that none could wonder at any apparent harshness in his conduct towards a person who scrupled not to insinuate her apprehensions of his intending to poison her. The circumstance was speedily made public, and the rumour prevailed that he was actually meditating her destruction, and not daring to effect it by public process before the face of the citizens, was contriving secret means of assassination.[1]

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Informed by his confidential spies of the whispers which were thus circulating among his subjects, Tiberius was annoyed, if not seriously alarmed. He tried to give another current to men's thoughts, and directed their attention to the curious rivalry now presented by eleven of the chief communities of the province of Asia, each of which sought to approve itself to the senate as the worthiest claimant for the honour of erecting a temple to Rome and her glorious imperator. The pretensions they severally advanced were all nearly similar, appealing to the splendour of their mythological origin, as founded by some Jove-descended hero, to their connexion with Troy, the reputed parent of Rome herself, or to their well-attested fidelity to their conquerors. The claims of Hypæpe, Tralles, Laodicea, Magnesia, Pergamus, Ephesus, Sardis,

Eleven cities of Asia contend for the honour of making Tiberius their tutelar divinity.

[1] Tac *Ann* iv. 54.

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and others, were heard successively; but all were finally postponed to those of Smyrna, whose people had crowned their merits towards the Republic by stripping the raiment from their own backs to supply the necessities of Sulla's army. Tiberius attended in the senate throughout these discussions, which were protracted for several days, and showed himself more busy and active in public matters than had been usual with him for some time past.[1] Nevertheless, he had been long meditating a final retirement from Rome; and the increasing suspicions and even offensive remarks of the citizens tended no doubt to precipitate this resolution. Five years before he had allowed himself to be absent for a whole twelvemonth in Campania: he now sought the same retreat once more; but this time he probably determined in his own mind never again to return to the city. The motives of this determination were variously assigned by the ancients, and it is probable that more than one combined to produce a resolution so important.

Tiberius meditates retiring from the city.

We may believe that it was at least partly owing to the influence of Sejanus, who desired, as has been before observed, to withdraw his jealous master from the daily sight of his favourite's undue preeminence. It is possible also that Tiberius may have been anxious to escape from the dominion his mother still continued to exercise over him; for he was conscious that he owed the empire to her influence over Augustus, or so at least she was her-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55, 56. That the temple was to be specially dedicated to Tiberius, though not mentioned in this place, appears by comparing it with cc. 15, 37.

self firmly persuaded, and never allowed him to forget it. It seems probable, however, that he was thus driven into solitude by the infirmity of his own temper; by his dislike of the show and trappings of public life; by the shyness which was natural to him, and which had been undoubtedly increased to a morbid degree by the long and painful solitude of his banishment at Rhodes. As he grew older he seemed more to lose his presence of mind in public; and if sometimes a senator broke out into invectives against him, or assailed him with unseasonable questions, he was confused and agitated. His temper was exasperated by the imputations made or insinuated against him, and the charge of severity in his judgment upon criminals piqued him to actual ferocity, which afterwards all the more distressed and alarmed him.[1] For this retirement he had been, as we have seen, a long time preparing, and the motives which now impelled him to it were, we may suppose, the same which had long been familiar to his thoughts, to which increasing years had given strength and poignancy. The bitterest of his enemies, however, declared that he had no other wish than to exercise in secret the cruelty and atrocious libidinousness to which, they asserted, he was utterly abandoned; or that he was ashamed of exhibiting to the public gaze the ungraceful leanness of his bent and shrivelled figure, the baldness of his forehead, and a countenance deformed by spots and pimples, or the patches which he used to conceal them.[2] We have

Motives ascribed to him.

[1] Comp. particularly the story in Tac. *Ann.* iv. 42.: Cæsar objectam sibi adversus reos inclementiam eo pervicacius amplexus.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 57.: Erant qui crederent in senectute corporis

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already seen reason for questioning the habitual intemperance and dissoluteness of Tiberius, to which such disfigurements as these were popularly imputed; but the prejudice against him was deeply rooted in the minds of the Romans, and was confirmed by repeated stories of the blackest colour, and the disgust at the horrid monster expressed, it was said, by every woman to whom he made his loathsome advances.

Tiberius quits Rome.

The immediate pretext for quitting Rome was the object of dedicating temples recently erected to Jupiter at Capua, and to Augustus at Nola, the spot from whence he had ascended into the heavens.[1] It was in the year 779 that Tiberius slunk, as it were, out of the city, with only a single senator, named Cocceius Nerva, in attendance upon him, nor, besides Sejanus himself, more than one knight.[2] The rest of his retinue was composed of a few men of learning, chiefly Greeks, and some of them, no doubt, astrologers. The departure of the chief of the state from the centre of government, except for the purpose of commanding armies abroad, or during the recess of business, commonly allowed in the summer heats, had been so unusual, that, while the emperor's real intentions were still confined to his own bosom, the vulgar were busy in their surmises as to the result, and the searchers of the heavens, ever faithful interpreters of the popular instinct, whispered that their art revealed to them that he was destined never to return. It

quoque habitum pudori fuisse. He was now (A.U. 779) in his sixty-seventh year. Traditur etiam matris impotentia extrusum.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 45.

[2] Tac. l. c.

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was dangerous to give publicity to such surmises, which the sanguine and impatient shaped readily into the assurance that the end of his life was nigh at hand, and so brought many into trouble on the charge of anticipating the prince's decease.[1] The conjecture, indeed, proved literally correct, though not in the way that was anticipated. Tiberius never again entered Rome: but no man, says Tacitus, could have imagined that a Roman would voluntarily abandon his country for a period of eleven years.

What the Romans meant by "patria carere," abandoning one's country.

Harsh, indeed, and unreal the historian's phrase may appear to our notions, *to abandon one's country*, or, more strongly still, *to exist without a country*, thus applied to a citizen quitting the walls of Rome to reside in a suburban retreat on the coast of Campania.[2] Doubtless we may trace in it something of an affectation of antique sentiment, from which Tacitus is by no means always exempt, not strictly in accordance with the genuine feelings of the time. We have seen, indeed, how deeply Cicero was moved at the thought of quitting the neighbourhood of his beloved city. His sensibility was more acute than other men's, but it only pointed in the same direction as theirs. The levity of Milo on the occasion of his banishment caused, perhaps, some revulsion in the sympathy of his party with him. Even in the camp of Pompeius the fugitive patriots could scarcely

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 58.: Ferebant periti cœlestium, iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium ut reditus illi negaretur; unde exitii causa multis fuit, properum finem vitæ conjectantibus vulgantibusque.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 58.: Ut libens patria careret.

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retain their assurance that they were still genuine Romans.[1] But we have seen how desperate was Cicero's affliction at being exiled beyond the seas; how loath he was to follow the self-expatriated consuls; how anxious at the first moment to make his peace with the conqueror and return; how, in the last crisis of his fortunes, the imminent perils of his post at Rome could not induce him finally to desert it. Cicero would have been hardly less unhappy in a Campanian retirement than in Greece or Macedonia, if doomed irrevocably to sojourn among its foreign associations; for in this respect the change from Rome to Naples was hardly less complete, than that to Rhodes or Athens. The Greek cities of Campania were, as we have seen before, in almost every particular, accurate and vivid copies of those beyond the sea: their foreign manners and habits, attractive as they were to the world-worn seeker for amusement and relaxation, were reputed by every true Roman altogether unworthy of his constant adoption. Rome was the proper sphere of his business and duty, the shrine of the Gods, the sacred soil of the auspices, the tribunal of the laws, the stative camp of the warrior-nation. There the Roman girded himself for the work of his great moral mission, to spare the subject, but beat down the proud; elsewhere he might loose his robes and put off his sandals, and indulge in recreations, which his conscience, strictly

[1] The arguments of Lucan against this sentiment are not uninstructive. *Pharsal.* v. 26.

Rerum nos summa sequetur
Imperiumque comes ... non unquam perdidit ordo
Mutato sua jura solo ....
Ordine de tanto quisquis non exsulat, hic est.

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questioned, could scarcely distinguish from vices.[1] *To enact the Greek*, for which his vocabulary furnished him with a short expressive term, was in his view pleasant but wrong[2]: it might be excused in the overwrought statesman, in the exhausted soldier, in the mere thoughtless youth; but only as an exception to the common rule of life and conduct, as a rare holiday breaking the stern routine of daily practice, to which his birth and breeding devoted him. The Roman must live and die in harness. An Atticus renounced with the forms and duties of Roman life most of the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen. As an Athenian burgher he forfeited the franchise of the conquering state; and the exemption he enjoyed from the calamities of the civil war was, in another view, the penalty he paid for the loss of the name of Roman. But assuredly such were not the sentiments of the citizens of the age of Tiberius, still less those of a century later. Life at Rome, while it still retained most of the outward forms of

[1] Thus Cæsar was reproached as puer male præcinctus. The loose trailing of his toga in the Forum was objected to Mæcenas. Such a want of etiquette was reputed a token of dissoluteness of morals. Suet. *Ner.* 51.: Adeo pudendus ut . . . . prodierit in publicum sine cinctu et discalceatus. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1. 71.:

> Quin ubi se *a vulgo et scena* in secreta remôrant
> Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli,
> Nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
> Decoqueretur olus, soliti.

[2] Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 11.: Si quem Romana fatigat
Militia assuetum Græcari.

Hence also græcatus, græcanicus, applied to the manners of Romans imitated from the Greek. Græcanicus miles, a dissolute or luxurious soldier. See Facciolati in voc.

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antiquity, the harsh restrictions upon freedom of action and conversation which had been endured by the Scipios and Catos, had lost the charms of political independence, for which alone they had been content to endure them. The Roman noble now chafed at the stiff etiquette of his ancestors; he shrank from the importunate observation of his clients; he loathed the obeisances of his subjects, conscious that he deserved them neither by personal merits, nor substantial power; he rejoiced to escape from a multitude of jealous critics to companions who had no claim to watch or control him, who considered his countenance as a favour, and never paused to reflect whether it was unworthy in him to give, or in themselves to accept it. Still the actual abandonment of the prescriptive post of duty was rare and remarkable. It was affirmed, for instance, of Lucius Piso, one of the chief aristocrats of the Tiberian senate, that in his disgust at the proceedings of the delators, he had expressed his determination, among his compeers, of withdrawing from the city, and therewith from public life altogether. It had been well for him had he actually executed this threat: he had the courage to bring the favourite of the empress to justice, but not to quit the scene of his dangerous activity, and only avoided by the opportuneness of his death the penalty of charges of which he was speedily convicted.[1]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 34.: Inter quæ L. Piso ambitum fori, sævitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium, increpans abire se et cedere Urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur. Comp. iv. 21. This was not the L. Piso, prefect of the city.

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Tiberius does not abandon public affairs.

The retirement of Tiberius himself from the public stage was however in no respect a real relinquishment of public occupation. No one supposed that he would cease thereupon from retaining the supreme oversight of the affairs of the commonwealth; nor, in the existing state of political usage, was there any real impediment to his ruling the empire from his quiet retreat. The undefined character of the supreme authority had this great advantage for its possessor, that it bound him to no stated functions, requiring his presence at certain times at certain places. The consul must take the auspices, and these could be taken only at Rome; a dictator must perform the rites of the Latin Feriæ on the Alban hill; a tribune must not absent himself from the city during the period of his office: but none of these restrictions applied to him who retained the power of all these officers, but was exempt from the restrictions of the offices themselves. Even though in theory the safety of the state might be regarded as entwined with the performance of certain religious ceremonies by the chief pontiff, yet from the time at least of Julius Cæsar, the presence of that august official had been for many years dispensed with, and there was nothing new at least in Tiberius delegating to others, or altogether omitting, duties which his imperial predecessors, and Lepidus in his retreat at Circeii, had been permitted to waive. Nevertheless this act was not without a grave significance. Whenever Augustus had withdrawn from the heart of the empire, it was only to impart fresh vigour to the action of the extremities: never for a

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moment had he resigned his ostensible place as the prime mover of the whole machine, or let his subjects imagine that the wheels of government could continue to revolve by the mere impulse once communicated to them. The retreat to Campania was thus a great step in the development of despotism, the greatest step, perhaps, of all, inasmuch as it made it at once apparent that the institution of monarchy was an accomplished fact, and no longer the creature of variable popular caprice.

Disastrous occurrences ascribed to the retirement of Tiberius.

The retirement of Tiberius did not fail, however, to be followed by a succession of public calamities, and these were generally ascribed to so unusual and inauspicious a proceeding. A private speculator had undertaken, as a matter of profit apparently, one of the magnificent works which in better times it was the privilege of the chief magistrates or candidates for the highest offices to construct for the sake of glory or influence. In erecting a vast wooden amphitheatre in the suburban city of Fidenæ, he had omitted the necessary precaution of securing a solid foundation; and when the populace of Rome, unaccustomed, from the parsimony of Tiberius, to their favourite spectacles at home, were invited to the diversions of the opening day, which they attended in immense numbers, the mighty mass gave way under the pressure, and covered them in its ruins. Fifty thousand persons, or according to a lower computation not less than twenty thousand, men and women of all ranks, were killed or injured by this catastrophe, which called forth an edict from the senate, forbidding any one henceforth to exhibit a gladiatorial show, unless his

Fall of the amphitheatre at Fidenæ.

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means were independent and ample, while the rash projector of the speculation was driven into exile; a mild punishment, perhaps, if it was right to punish him at all. The care and attention lavished upon the sufferers by the wealthiest people at Rome, the spontaneous offering of medical care and attendance, served at least to remind the citizens of the best days of the republic, in seasons of public calamity. But this sorrow had not been forgotten when it was redoubled by the disaster of a great fire, which ravaged the whole of the Cælian hill and a considerable area of the city besides, all occupied with dwellings of every class of citizens. This catastrophe, however, gave Tiberius occasion to exhibit a munificence and consideration for his people, for which he had not yet acquired credit.[1] The senate decreed that the hill should henceforth bear the name of Augustus, in memory of this imperial liberality, and more particularly because, in the midst of the general destruction, an image of the emperor, it was reported, had alone been left standing and unscathed. A similar prodigy had occurred in the case of another personage of the imperial house, the famous Claudia Quinta, whose effigy had twice escaped the flames, and been thenceforth set up as a sacred relic in the temple of the Mother of the Gods.[2]

Conflagration on the Cælian hill.

But to more intelligent observers of public events, these calamities were far less alarming than the steady advance of the toils which were gradually surrounding the family of Germanicus.

Progress of delation.

[1] Vell. ii. 130.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 62—64.

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Though the charges urged against its members were managed by private delators, none could doubt that Sejanus himself was the mover of the horrid conspiracy. The first approaches against this illustrious house were made cautiously from a distance; it was deemed advisable to sap the outworks of the family in the persons of its remoter connexions, before assailing the citadel, and attacking the mother of the princes and the princes themselves. Domitius Afer, the same who had prosecuted Claudia Pulchra to condemnation, proceeded to advance charges of treason or licentiousness against her son, Quintilius Varus, the husband of one of the daughters of Germanicus.[1] In this odious prosecution he was joined by a Publius Dolabella, a kinsman of the unfortunate youth. The conduct of the first caused at least no surprise, for he was poor and delation was his trade: but Dolabella had no such excuse; and when he, highborn and wealthy as he was, stood forward to shed noble blood, the same which flowed in his own veins, the citizens were astonished and indignant. For once the senators ventured to stem the torrent of delation, which Sejanus was evidently directing to his own guilty purposes. They resolved before pronouncing sentence to await the decision of the emperor himself.[2] Such was the state of affairs, under the sway

[1] This Quintilius Varus was the son by Claudia Pulchra of the Varus who perished in Germany. His marriage to a daughter of Agrippina, whose name is not known, is mentioned by M. Seneca, *Controv.* i. 1. 3. It is strange that Tacitus should have omitted to mention this connexion; but we have seen that he was not well-informed as to the position of Claudia.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 66.

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of the favourite and his creatures, that Tiberius was regarded as the last hope and refuge of the oppressed. Possibly, for we hear no more of the result, his interference saved the victim on this occasion. Nevertheless the power of Sejanus, whatever shock his recent rebuff may have given it, was now completely re-established. A fortunate accident had enabled him to prove his devotion to the emperor by saving his life at the risk of his own. In the course of an entertainment which Tiberius had held in the cool recess of a grotto in Campania, the roof of the cavern had suddenly given way, and covered the tables and the guests themselves. Sejanus, in the midst of the confusion, had thrown himself across the prostrate body of his master, and bending in the form of an arch, with a great exertion of his herculean strength had shielded him from the falling fragments.[1] This act of courage had made a great impression upon Tiberius, and seemed at least to have obliterated the unfavourable feelings which the late affair between them might have excited. The minister, to whom a double share of the cares of government were now confided, could easily persuade the senators that his influence with his master was quite unbounded, and that no cloud had ever passed over the sunshine in which he basked. He set spies to watch every word and movement of Nero, the eldest child of Agrippina, and suborned the wife and brother of the luckless youth to urge him to indiscretions, and aggravate them by misrepresentation. Such, how-

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Renewed favour of Sejanus.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 59.; Suet. *Tib.* 39.

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ever, were the young prince's admirable sense and conduct that no handle could be found for framing an accusation against him; while the rash and thoughtless Drusus too often laid himself open to the machinations of the common enemy of their family.[1]

Tiberius retires to the island of Capreæ.

Having performed the dedication of the temples in Campania, which had furnished the immediate pretext for his removal from Rome, Tiberius in the year 780 crossed the bay of Naples in quest of the spot which he had already destined for his final retreat.[2] In vain had he issued orders, while traversing the dense populations of the continent, that no man should presume to disturb his sullen meditations, and had even lined his route with soldiers to keep his importunate admirers at a distance. The concourse of idle and gaping multitudes whom his arrival brought everywhere together became more and more odious to him, and the moroseness with which he avoided and spurned observation gave colour to the notion that he shunned exhibiting to strangers the deformity of a diseased and bloated countenance. He hastened to bury himself in the pleasant solitudes of the little island of Capreæ. While yet in the maturity of his powers Augustus had been attracted by the charms of this sequestered retirement; he had been struck particularly with the fortunate omen of a blighted ilex reviving here during a visit he paid to the spot. Its genial climate, he conceived, might conduce to the maintenance of his own health in more advanced

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 60.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 67.

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age, and with this view he obtained the cession of it from the Neapolitans, to whose city it belonged, in exchange for the more important nor, as reputed, less salubrious island of Ænaria.[1] Capreæ at this time indeed was little better than a barren rock, the resort of wild goats, from which it derived its name, about eleven miles in circuit: but it lay within two hours' row of Misenum, the great naval station of the Lower Sea. Easily accessible from the mainland at one point, which it required little vigilance to secure, the island is singularly difficult of approach at every other; its shores consisting of limestone cliffs, sheer precipices in most parts plunging directly into the deep sea. They are furrowed here and there by those caverns celebrated for the play of coloured light in their recesses, which, after having amused and astonished the curious of our time as recent discoveries, are now ascertained to have been the forgotten haunts of Roman luxury. In the interior, an uneven but cultivable surface rises at either end of the island to the height of one thousand and two thousand feet respectively; the eastern or lower promontory having been, according to tradition, the favourite sojourn of Tiberius, and its dizzy cliff the scene of

[1] Ænaria or Inarime was famous for its medicinal springs: Ænariæque lacus medicos. Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 5. 104. Augustus got possession of Capreæ in the year 725. Dion, lii. 43. Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 92. Virgil, on his return from Greece in 735, devoted the remaining months of his life to the revision of the Æneid at Naples, and some passages even in the earlier books bear marks of interpolation at this period. Possibly the reference to Capreæ (*Æn.* vii. 735.) is meant as a compliment to Augustus: Teleboum Capreas cum regna teneret Jam senior. Augustus, then just completing his forty-fifth year, was on the verge of Roman seniority.

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his savage executions. We have before noticed the channel, six miles wide, which separated it from the coast of Campania, whence it seems to have been divorced by a convulsion of nature, and the two famous sea-marks which faced each other on opposing summits, the Pharos of Capreæ and the temple of Surrentum. But while few other spots could have combined the requisites of solitude and difficult approach with such actual proximity to the seat of government, Tiberius was not insensible to the charms of its climate, and even the attractions of its scenery; to the freshness of its evening breeze, the coolness of its summers, and the agreeable mildness of its winters.[1] The villas he erected on the fairest sites within these narrow limits, twelve in number and named after the greater gods of the Olympian consistory, enjoyed, we may suppose, every variety of prospect, commanded every breath of air, and caught the rays of the sun at every point of his diurnal progress.[2] From

[1] Statius (*Sylv.* iii. 5.) invites his wife to the shores of his native Parthenope: Quas et mollis hyems et frigida temperat æstas;
Quas imbelle fretum torpentibus alluit undis.
Could the lady resist so sweet an invitation to so sweet a place?

[2] Tac. l. c. In his charming description of the villa of Pollius on the Surrentine promontory, Statius specifies the various objects in view from the spot, which are nearly the same as those commanded by Capreæ. The spacious residence of his friend comprised all the advantages which could be sought for in the divers localities of the Tiberian pleasure-houses: Quæ rerum turba! locine
Ingenium an domini mirer prius? hæc domus ortus
Prospicit, et Phœbi tenerum jubar; illa cadentem
Detinet, exactamque negat dimittere lucem ....
Hæc pelagi clamore fremunt; hæc tecta sonoros
Ignorant fluctus, terræque silentia malunt ....

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the heights of Capreæ the eye comprehended at a single glance the whole range of the Italian coast from the promontory of Circe to the temples of Pæstum, clearly visible through that transparent atmosphere. The Falernian and Gauran ridges, teeming with the *noblest* vineyards of the peninsula, the long ranges of the Samnite Apennines, even to the distant Lucanian mountains, formed the framework of the picture, while Vesuvius reared its then level crest, yet unscarred by lava, directly in the centre. Facing the south, the spectator gazed on the expanse of the Sicilian Sea. So wide is the horizon that it is, perhaps, no fiction that at some favourable moments the outlines of the fiery isles of Æolus, and even of Sicily itself, are within the range of vision. The legends of Circe and Ulysses, of Cimmerian darkness and Phlegræan fires, of the wars of the Giants with Jupiter, and the graceful omens which attracted the first settlers to these shores from Greece, had perhaps a strange fascination for the worn-out soldier and politician.[1] Reclining on the slopes of Capreæ, and gazing on the glorious landscape before him, Tiberius might dream of a fairyland of the poets' creation, and seek some moments of repose from the hard realities of his eternal task, to per-

. . . . Quid mille revolvam
Culmina, visendique vices? sua cuique voluptas
Atque omni proprium thalamo mare, transque jacentem
Nerea diversis servit sua terra fenestris . . . .
Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 2. 44.

[1] Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 5. 79.:
Parthenope, cui mitę solum trans æquora vectæ
Ipse Dionæa monstravit Apollo columba.

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plex his attendants with insoluble questions on the subjects of the Sirens' songs and the name of Hecuba's mother.[1] Nor could he be unmoved, though dallying with these fanciful shadows, by the deep interest which the records of actual history had thrown over the fateful scene. There lay the battle-fields of the still youthful republic: there the rugged Roman was first broken by the culture of Hellas: there captive Greece first captured her conqueror. There were the plains in which the strength of Hannibal had wasted in ignoble luxury; and the dark crater of Vesuvius, from whence had issued the torrent of servile insurrection, when the empire of the world was for a moment shaken by the rage of a Thracian bondman. The great Italian volcano had slumbered since the dawn of history. Tokens indeed were not wanting on the surface of the fires still seething beneath the plains of Campania; the sulphureous exhalations of Baiæ and Puteoli still attested the truth of legends of more violent igneous action on which the local mythology was built. But even these legends pointed to no eruption of Vesuvius: no cone of ashes rose then as now from its bosom; and cities and villages clustered at its foot or hung upon its flanks, unconscious of the elements of convulsion hushed in grim repose beside them.[2]

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 70. Maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiæ fabularis, usque ad ineptias atque derisum. Nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum, ut diximus, maxime appetebat, ejusmodi fere quæstionibus experiebatur: quæ mater Hecubæ: quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset: quid Sirenes cantare sint solitæ.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesu-

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A.D. 27. A.U. 780. Occupation of Tiberius at Capreæ.

During his protracted sojourn in this pleasant locality the imperial hermit crossed but rarely to the continent, and twice only made as if he would revisit the city.[1] The seclusion of his lonely rock was guarded with the strictest vigilance, and the chastisement he was said in have inflicted on the unwary fishermen who landed on the forbidden coast increased the mysterious horror with which it came soon to be regarded.[2] But day by day a regular service of couriers brought despatches to him from the continent; nor did he ever relax from the scrupulous attention, in which he had so long been trained, to the details of business sent him by his ministers, which must have employed his mind and tasked his patience for many hours. He was surrounded moreover in the recesses of his privacy by a number of literary men, professors of Greek and other foreign extraction, among whom he diverted himself with abstruse inquiries, such as have been already noticed, into the most unprofitable questions of mythology or grammar. Distraction of mind was the object of his literary recreations; but like the generality of his busy and restless countrymen, he had no taste for matters of really interesting inquiry, and his studies, if not pernicious, were at best merely curious. He was peculiarly addicted to conversa-

vius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. This was written about thirty years after the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

[1] Suet., *Tib.* 72.: Bis omnino toto secessus tempore Romam redire conatus, scil. ann. 786. 788. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 1.; Dion, lviii. 21. 25.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 60.

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tion with the soothsayers, of whom he entertained a troop about his person, making constant experiments of their skill in the examination of the lives and fortunes of his associates. Such was the account which reached the city of the life of the imperial misanthrope: it was coloured no doubt and distorted, inflamed and exaggerated: nevertheless it did not suffice to satisfy the prurient curiosity of the citizens, stimulated beyond its wont by the extraordinary circumstance of his retirement from public observation. They filled the hours they supposed to be vacant from business with amusements of a far less innocent character, with debaucheries of the deepest dye, and cruelties the most refined and sanguinary: they accused the Roman Cæsar of the crimes of a Median or Assyrian; as if their perverted imaginations delighted in contrasting the most exquisite charms of nature with the grossest depravation of humanity: and all these charges, whether or not they were in his case really true, of which we have little means of judging, found easy credence from the notorious vices of their own degraded aristocracy.[1]

Further deterioration in the government of Tiberius.

The retirement of Tiberius to Capreæ has been justly regarded as an important turning-point in his career; inasmuch as, having thereby screened himself from the hated gaze of his subjects, he could from thenceforth give the rein, without shame or remorse, to the worst propensities of his nature. From this time undoubtedly we find him less anxious to moderate the excessive flatteries of the

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 43—45.

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senate, or to mediate between its servile ferocity and the wretched victims of the delators. Even on the calends of January, the strictest holiday of the Roman year, he could turn his solemn missive of vows and congratulations to a demand for the blood of Titius Sabinus, of distinguished equestrian family, who had been betrayed by a base intrigue.[1] *What a commencement for the new year is this!* exclaimed the affrighted citizens. *What victims are these with which Sejanus requires to be appeased! What day from henceforth will pass without an execution, if a season so holy and festive must be profaned with the chain and cord!* But the emperor had attained a position in which he could despise these murmurs. The complaints he urged upon the senate of the peril in which he fancied himself to stand, as the mark of so many secret conspiracies and machinations, were interpreted into dark insinuations against his own nearest kindred: every member of the imperial family, cut off by age or accident, was supposed to relieve him either from the fear of intrigues, or the mortification of being observed and thwarted. Presently the Romans imagined that the cares of empire were neglected: an outbreak of the Frisii, which seems in fact to have been speedily repressed, was exaggerated by their undue apprehensions; and it was believed that Tiberius disguised the real extent of the disaster to avoid the necessity of sending a special legate to retrieve it.[2] Never-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 68.: Junio Silano et Silio Nerva coss. (A. U. 781), fœdum anni principium incessit.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 72.

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theless the senate, we are told, was not so much concerned for a frontier injury, as for the perils by which it seemed itself environed at home; and against these it could devise no other precaution than the most lavish adulation of the emperor. It decreed an altar to Clemency and another to Friendship, by the side of which images of Tiberius and Sejanus were to be erected, and at the same time urged him with repeated entreaties to allow it once more the happiness of beholding him. But neither Tiberius nor his favourite vouchsafed a visit to the city or its vicinity. They contented themselves with leaving the island, and exhibiting their august presence at the nearest point of the Campanian coast. Thither flocked the senators, the knights, and numbers of the inferior citizens, more apprehensive of their reception by Sejanus than even by Tiberius himself: nor did the minister's conduct belie the dread they had conceived of him, since the retirement of his master had served to exalt him to a higher pinnacle than ever. Amidst the various avocations of life in the city, the trooping of flatterers and courtiers to his levees might be less open to remark; but in the country, where there was no other occupation and no other diversion, every one's eyes intently watched all the rest, and the Romans were shocked at the evidence they presented to one another of the extent of their own servility. At last Sejanus, in his arrogance, as they said, forbade them even to throng his doors or crowd around him on the seashore: he was afraid no doubt of the jealousy of his master; and they

returned in dismay and dejection to their homes, to expiate hereafter as a crime the intimacy they had so blindly pressed upon him.[1]

A.D. 28. A.U. 781. Death of Julia the younger, the grand-daughter of Augustus.

The year 781, the first of Tiberius's sojourn at Capreæ, beheld the death of the unfortunate Julia, the grand-daughter of Augustus, in the barren island of Trimerus, off the coast of Apulia; a woman whose amours had once threatened to raise up candidates for the throne, but who in her disgrace had been so completely abandoned by her friends and family that she owed, it was said, the protraction of her miserable existence for years to the ostentatious compassion of Livia.[2] She was speedily followed to the grave by this hateful protectress. The mother of the emperor, having held in her own hands for seventy years the largest share, it may be, of actual power of any individual in the state, paid at last the debt of nature, at the moment when her son had effected his escape from her oversight, and had perhaps for the first time defied her influence. She died in the year 782, at the advanced age of eighty-six, a memorable example of successful artifice, having attained in succession, by craft if not by crime, every object she could desire in the career of female ambition.[3] But she had

Death of the empress Livia. A. D. 29. A. U. 782.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 74.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 71.: Augustæ ope sustentata, quæ florentis privignos cum per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam ostentabat.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* v. 1.; Dion, lviii. 2. Pliny makes her eighty-two: but as Tiberius was now in his seventieth year, the earlier date assigned for her birth is undoubtedly the true one. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 8.

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long survived, in her extreme old age, every genuine attachment she may at any time have inspired, nor has a single voice been raised by posterity to supply the want of honest eulogists in her own day. Her obsequies gave occasion for the first public appearance of Caius, the youngest of the sons of Germanicus, at this time in his seventeenth year, to pronounce her funeral oration; for Tiberius excused himself from attending, while he persisted in making no change in the usual disposition of his day, and forbade the senate, pretending that such was her own desire, to decree divine honours to the deceased.[1] At the same time he took occasion to show his sense of the liberty he had recovered by his mother's death, by some pointed remarks on the servile flattery of the *woman's friends*, her associates. These remarks were directed, it was believed, more particularly against the consul Fufius, who had ventured, under the powerful protection of the empress, to indulge in unseemly sneers against the emperor himself.[2] While such was the demeanour of Tiberius, it was evident that he felt no personal regret for the loss he had sustained, and the funeral passed over with little ceremony or magnificence. Even the will of Livia remained for a long time unexecuted.[3]

Her character.

The obsequies of the consort of Octavius were

[1] Tac. *Ann.* v. 1, 2.; Dion, lviii. 2.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Dicax idem, et Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere solitus.

[3] Suet. *Tib.* 51. In this and the preceding chapter instances are given of the impatience with which Tiberius latterly bore the domination of his mother; his harsh language towards her and about her, and the indifference he manifested at her decease.

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celebrated under the name she had long borne in public of Julia Augusta. By admission into the Cæsarean family she had become invested with the undefinable charm of far-descended glory common to the children of Venus and Iulus, which might seem to extend to her a rightful claim to apotheosis hereafter, together with her husband and his divine parent. But her union with Octavius had in the meantime entitled her to a share in the high and expressive designation of August, which was scarcely distinguished in the popular apprehension from that of mistress or sovereign. She glided gracefully from the wheel and the women's chamber to the chair of council and even to the throne of state: the first of Roman matrons she had been suffered, if not to assume a public capacity, at least to be addressed as a public character.[1] Though little scrupulous, we may believe, in the pursuit of her personal objects, she was not without a right royal sense of the true dignity of her unexampled position. To the sterner counsels of her husband she brought the feminine elements of softness and placability. The policy of Augustus in his later years was impressed with the mildness and serene confidence of his consort; and even under the gloomier tyranny of his

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[1] Thus we find her addressed in the *Consolatio de morte Drusi* as Princeps. The senate upon her death decreed her an arch, and the title of Mater Patriæ, which Tiberius refused to ratify: nevertheless medals exist on which such a legend appears, and it is a question whether these were not struck in her honour even during the lifetime of Augustus. See Eckhel, vi. 154, 155. Livia ultimately obtained deification under the principate of her grandson Claudius.

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successor her chamber was the asylum of many trembling victims of unprincipled persecution, her extended arm bade defiance to the arts of an Afer and the power of a Sejanus.[1] Nor was her private benevolence less conspicuously exerted in behalf of noble indigence. She caused many poor but well-born children to be educated at her own expense, and gave portions to many marriageable maidens.[2] Her fidelity to her husband may have been the result of prudence, her devotion to her son a calculation of ambition; but it is impossible not to read in the monuments of her innumerable household, the tirers of her person, the attendants at her repasts, the ministers of her charities, whom she survived to bury in one family mausoleum, tokens of kindness and generosity, however mingled with pride, which appeal forcibly to our admiration.[3] But a later generation could never forgive her for being the mother of Tiberius; and every step by which the tyrant, the patron of the

[1] Dion, l. c.: *καὶ ἀψῖδα αὐτῇ, ὃ μηδεμίᾳ ἄλλῃ γυναικὶ, ἐψηφίσαντο, ὅτι τε οὐκ ὀλίγους σφῶν ἐσεσώκει, καὶ ὅτι παῖδας πολλῶν ἐτετρόφει.* Comp. Vell. ii. 130.: Per omnia diis quam hominibus similior fœmina, cujus potentiam nemo sensit nisi aut levatione periculi aut accessione dignitatis.

[2] The Roman Juno was as merciful as she was modest, if we may believe a fantastic story of Dion's: *γυμνούς ποτε ἄνδρας ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῇ καὶ μέλλοντας διὰ τοῦτο θανατωθήσεσθαι ἔσωσεν, εἰποῦσα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνδριάντων ταῖς σωφρονούσαις οἱ τοιοῦτοι διαφέρουσι.* Dion, l. c.

[3] The single columbarium of Livia which has been discovered, and probably there were more, contains the ashes of above a thousand of her slaves and freedmen: the diversity of their employments, all of which are carefully recorded, is, as may be supposed, almost infinite. See Wallon, *Esclavage*, ii. 145., foll. after Gori.

informers, the decimater of the senate, advanced to the sovereignty of the Roman people was ascribed to the ambition, the arts, and the crimes of the unfortunate Livia. The proscriptions were forgotten in fifty years, the delations never.

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THE FATE OF THE FAMILY OF GERMANICUS.—BANISHMENT OF AGRIPPINA AND HER SON NERO.—DISGRACE AND IMPRISONMENT OF HER SON DRUSUS.—PERSECUTION OF HER FRIENDS.—FATE OF ASINIUS GALLUS.—CULMINATION OF THE FORTUNES OF SEJANUS.—HIS ALLIANCE WITH THE IMPERIAL FAMILY AND CONSULSHIP (A.U. 784.).—ALARMED AT THE JEALOUSY OF TIBERIUS, HE CONSPIRES AGAINST HIM.—TIBERIUS DETERMINES, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF MACRO, TO OVERTHROW HIM.—HIS ARREST IN THE SENATE-HOUSE, AND EXECUTION.—PROSCRIPTION OF HIS ADHERENTS.—VENGEANCE FOR THE MURDER OF DRUSUS.—SAVAGE CRUELTY OF TIBERIUS.—HORRIBLE DEATH OF THE YOUNGER DRUSUS.—AGRIPPINA STARVES HERSELF.—INFATUATION OF TIBERIUS.—HIS MORTIFICATION AT THE DESPONDENCY OF THE NOBLES.—VOLUNTARY DEATHS OF NERVA AND ARRUNTIUS.—PROSPECTS OF THE SUCCESSION.—CAIUS CALIGULA AND THE YOUNG TIBERIUS.—ASCENDENCY OF MACRO.—LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF TIBERIUS (A.U. 790.).—EFFECTS OF THE REIGN OF TERROR: ALARM OF THE NOBLES; THOUGHTLESS DISSIPATION OF THE POPULACE.—THE PROVINCES GENERALLY WELL CARED FOR AND PROSPEROUS.—EXAMPLE FROM THE STATE OF JUDEA. (A.D. 29—737., A.U. 782—790.)

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A.D. 29. A.U. 782. Tiberius complains to the senate of Agrippina and Nero.

THE first incident which marked the withdrawal of Livia's protecting wing from the afflicted, was the appearance of a harsh despatch from Tiberius to the senate, directed against Agrippina and her son Nero. This letter, it was believed, had been written some time earlier, but withheld through the influence of the empress, who, while she was gratified by the depression of the family of Ger-

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manicus, had nevertheless exerted herself, not without success, to shield it from ruin. The emperor now complained in bitter terms of the alleged misconduct of his grand-nephew; not, indeed, of any political intrigues to his own prejudice, but of personal vices and dissoluteness: against the chaste matron, his mother, he had not ventured to utter even such imputations as these, but had confined himself to reproving once more the vehemence so often remarked in her language and demeanour. The senators were thrown into great perplexity: ready as they were to carry out the commands of their master, however atrocious they might be, they dared not act upon murmurs which conveyed no express order, and made no demand upon their active interference. While they deliberated, however, warned by one of their own body to take no hasty step in so delicate a matter, the people assembled before the doors of the Curia, and bearing aloft the effigies of their favourites, shouted aloud that the letter itself was an abominable forgery, and the lives of the emperor's nearest kindred were menaced without his knowledge, and in manifest defiance of his inclinations. These cries evidently pointed at Sejanus as the contriver of a foul conspiracy; but the favourite, perceiving his danger, played dexterously upon his master's fears, representing the movement of the populace as an act of rebellion, the images of Nero and Agrippina as the standards of a civil war, till he wrung from him a second proclamation, in which the impetuosity of the citizens was sternly rebuked, the tardiness of the senate more mildly reproved,

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and the charges against the culprits repeated, with a distinct injunction to proceed at once to consider them with due formality.[1]

They are banished to islands.

Thus encouraged and stimulated to take the part assigned them, the senators had no scruple in declaring that they had only been withheld from a more zealous defence of the imperial majesty by the want of definite instructions. Sejanus triumphed; accusers sprang up at his beck; the process was carried through, we may believe, with all the reckless disregard of decency and justice for which the tribunal of the Conscript Fathers had long been infamous; and though we have lost the details of it, we know that its result was fatal to its unfortunate victims, and that both the mother and son were banished to barren islands, the one to Pandateria, the other to Pontia. True to the indomitable ferocity of her character, the she-wolf Agrippina resisted the atrocious mandate with violence, and in her struggle with the centurion in whose charge she was placed, such was the horrid story which obtained credence with the citizens, one of her eyes was actually struck from her head.[2] Sejanus now urged his success with redoubled energy. He had removed his two most conspicuous rivals to an exile from which the members of the imperial family had never yet been known to return. Drusus still remained, of an age and character to compete with him in the career of his ambition. Tiberius retained the youthful prince, together with his younger brother Caius, about his own person at Capreæ: there was the more reason to fear the

Sejanus obtains the disgrace of the younger Drusus.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* v. 5., A. U. 782. From this point there is a lacuna of two years in the annals of Tacitus.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 53.

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favour he might acquire with his aged relative; nor were there the same opportunities for misrepresenting his conduct, or urging him by means of insidious advisers into political intrigues. But Sejanus, in seducing the affections of the young prince's consort, Lepida, found the means of undermining his credit with the emperor. His shameless paramour was easily induced by his representations, and the same promise, perhaps, of marriage, which he had already extended to the wife of another Drusus, to excite the jealousy of Tiberius against the unfortunate prince; and thus even the recesses of the imperial retirement, in which the old man had sought to bury himself from the crimes and follies of the world he hated, were opened to the machinations of his most intimate friends and relatives. Drusus was dismissed from Capreæ, and ordered to repair to Rome in disgrace. But Sejanus was not satisfied with this indication of the sovereign's anger: fearing lest his master might change his mind about the culprit, he induced the consul Cassius Longinus to make a motion in the senate on the young man's presumed misconduct; and the fathers hastened to respond to it by declaring him an enemy of his country. Drusus was immediately placed under arrest; but the privileges of a Roman noble still exempted him from confinement in the dungeons of the Mamertine prison, and he was thrust, in mockery of the free custody which was his legal right, into a subterranean chamber of the imperial palace.[1]

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 54.; Dion, lviii. 3., A. U. 783. At this point there is a short break in the remains of Dion's history.

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A. D. 30. A. U. 783. Tiberius persecutes the friends of Livia.

Livia, as we have seen, had been surrounded in her later years by a little court of her own favourites, and among them were many grumblers and captious enemies of the emperor, who obtained licence, by flattering the vanity of their mistress, to vent even in her ears their ill-feeling towards the chief of the state. In vain had Tiberius chafed under the bitter jeers of this independent coterie: the influence of his mother had protected it, and he had been compelled to brood in secret over mortifications which he had not the spirit to resent. But he had not forgotten a murmur or a smile; and as soon as the tutelary patroness of the group was removed, he made his long-checked vengeance felt by its several members in succession. The friends of Agrippina and her children he regarded in a still more serious light. They constituted in his view, not a private clique of dissatisfied scoffers, but a political faction; they were not discontented with his conduct or his government, but, as he thought, and doubtless others there were who thought the same, prepared as foes and rivals to substitute another government, the government at least of another, in its room. In the councils of this faction lay, as he conceived, the germs of a revolution of the palace and even of a civil war. Among its chiefs were men of the highest birth and character. None of them was more distinguished than that Asinius Gallus, now an old man, and a veteran dissembler, whose pretensions have already been noticed. This man had presumed to take to wife the unfortunate Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa, the same from whom Tiberius had been compelled

Cruel fate of Asinius Gallus, a friend of Agrippina.

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so reluctantly to separate himself; and besides the feelings of personal pique which this marriage had caused him, Tiberius beheld in it a covert aspiration to a share of the imperial inheritance. At the commencement of his principate he had been treated publicly by Asinius as an equal in an assembly of equals. In consequence he had never ceased to regard him with an eye of jealousy; and when latterly he observed him paying more than usual court to Sejanus, he resented it perhaps as an attempt to disguise increasing hostility to himself.[1] When Asinius came at last to Capreæ, as the bearer of a vote of fresh honours to the favourite, Tiberius received him indeed with every outward mark of cordiality, for his powers of dissimulation were consummate, but at the same time he clandestinely despatched an accusation against him to the senate, and the senate proceeded to pass sentence upon him without a hearing, at the very moment that he was being entertained at the emperor's table. The consuls sent a prætor to Capreæ to arrest him before the eyes of his host, who affected surprise and sympathy with him, and desired that he might be kept in honourable custody at Rome till he should come in person to take cognisance of so lamentable a case.[2] This period, however, never arrived; and it was not till after three years of close and cruel imprison-

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[1] Of Asinius, Augustus, as we have seen, had said that he was ambitious but incapable. The conceit and captiousness of his feeble character appears in the presumption with which, like his father Pollio, he criticized the language and genius of Cicero. Quintil. xii. 1. 22.; Gell. *Noct. Att.* xvii. 1.; Suet. *Claud.* 41.; Plin. *Epist.* vii. 4.

[2] Dion, lviii. 3.

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ment that Tiberius consented at last to give the word, not for his release, but for his execution, accompanied, it was said, with the savage remark, *Now at last I have taken him back to favour.*[1]

The base dissimulation of Tiberius, which he now seemed, from long habit, to practise almost unconsciously, and where for his own purposes it was least required, may serve to aggravate our disgust at his callous insensibility. We are not driven, however, to suppose that it was from any wanton refinement of cruelty that so long a punishment was inflicted upon the miserable sufferer.

Procrastination and irresolution of Tiberius.

Among the infirmities which grew upon Tiberius more and more with advancing age was a causeless procrastination and irresolution; and neither in giving audience to an embassy, nor in deciding the fate of a criminal, could he prevail on himself to act with the promptness which befitted his position.[2] His jealousy once aroused with regard to Sejanus, he could not make up his mind to any definite course of action. The clamours even of the insensate populace had not been lost upon him; though every demand for the punishment of his relatives had come to him direct from the senators, he could not fail to perceive that the favourite might have moved them to it. From the objects of suspicion thus indicated to him, every suspicion rebounded upon the head of the favourite himself. While he sought to disguise his doubts and an-

[1] Dion, lviii. 23.: who repeats, however, the same expression on another occasion. Comp. also Suet. *Tib.* 61.: Et in recognoscendis custodiis precanti cuidam pœnæ maturitatem respondit: nondum tecum in gratiam redii.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. 5.

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xieties, yielding in every point, more readily than ever, to the counsels of his insidious adviser, and consenting at his instance to the disgrace of his kinsmen or courtiers, he shrank day by day from issuing the fatal orders which should deprive him irrecoverably of their services. Thus while he kept Asinius and Drusus in confinement to gratify Sejanus, he could not yet resolve to deliver them to the executioner. But in the meanwhile he continued to heap fresh honours on his minister with a restless liberality, which itself implied distrust. Though the hopes Sejanus had conceived of entrance into the Julian house through an union with Livilla had been discouraged and deferred, it appears that the emperor relaxed after a time in his opposition to them, and that they were even crowned, as has been said, at least with the ceremony of a betrothal. The marriage seems indeed never to have taken effect, though so completely was the connexion of Sejanus with his master secured by the mere act of affiance, that he receives from Tacitus the title of his son-in-law.[1] But the unfortunate loss of the greater part of the fifth book of Tacitus's Annals deprives us of our surest guide to the mutual machinations of the emperor and his aspiring minister. It would seem, however, probable that Tiberius soon after the confinement of Drusus became seriously alarmed at the formidable attitude his favourite

Sejanus becomes affianced to Livilla.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* v. 6., vi. 8. See above, p. 242. Zonaras (xi. 2.) says expressly that he was married to Julia, daughter of Drusus; but Julia, the only daughter of Drusus we know of, was married to Nero. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 29., iv. 60., vi. 27. See Ritter on *Ann.* vi. 8., Suet. *Tib.* 65.: Spe affinitatis deceptum.

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had assumed; and we may believe that, in the last marks of confidence conferred upon him, he was really meditating his overthrow. Nevertheless when, on the first of January, 784, Sejanus entered with Tiberius upon the consulship, the worshippers of his uprisen star were disturbed by no presentiment of its impending decline. The origin of Sejanus was not such as to entitle him to an honour from which Mæcenas had modestly shrunk; but his flatterers, ascending higher into the annals of the republic, compared his rise with that of a Coruncanius, a Carvilius, a Marius, or a Pollio. It was no novel principle, they declared, for either the senate or the people to choose the best men for distinction regardless of their birth; and it was now left for Tiberius to show that the wisdom of the emperor was not inferior to that of senate and people.[1] While, however, all orders of the state were vying with one another in the respect they paid to Sejanus, while the petitioners who had flocked to the minister in Campania had been more numerous than those who courted the prince himself, while games and holidays were voted in his honour, and before his images or pictures altars were raised, vows conceived, and sacrifices offered, an excess of flattery which the emperor had personally spurned, Tiberius trembled more and more for his own safety, and was anxious at least to remove their idol from his presence. Accordingly, when he associated Sejanus with himself in the consulship, he deputed him to perform alone the actual functions of both in the city; and now

A.D. 31. A.U. 784. He is advanced to the consulship.

Tiberius and Sejanus consuls.

[1] Vell. ii. 128.

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Sejanus, it was remarked, reigned at Rome, while Tiberius reigned only in Capreæ.[1] The senators received the leader of their debates with acclamations, and Sejanus, though not unconscious of the secret workings of jealousy in his master's mind, persuaded himself that he had now reached an eminence from which he could control or even defy it. The attachment of the citizens towards him was now, he conceived, amply demonstrated: the alacrity with which they hailed him as the emperor's colleague betokened their full consent to his seizing the undivided empire. The decree of the senate, which now conferred upon him jointly with Tiberius the consulate for five years, sounded in his ears like the entire surrender of the government to his hands, as it had formerly been surrendered to Augustus; and if any material resources were yet required to assure success to his usurpation, he could wield, as he conceived, in his faithful prætorians the final arbitrement of the sword.

Tiberius and Sejanus resign the consulship.

Since his accession, however, to the principate, it had been the custom of Tiberius to retain his consulships only for a short period. In 771 he had abdicated office after a few days; in 774 after three months.[2] Now also, far from accepting the proffered five years, he resigned the consulship in the fifth month; and Sejanus, it seems, was required at the same time to give way to a consul

[1] Dion, lviii. 5.: ὥστε συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον νησίαρχόν τινα εἶναι δοκεῖν.

[2] The consulship of 784 was Tiberius's fifth. See Tac. *Ann.* iii. 31. Suetonius, in calling it his third, is speaking only of his principate.

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suffectus.[1] Faustus Cornelius Sulla was supplied in the place of the one, Sextidius Catullinus received the fasces from the other. It is possible that Sejanus now felt for the first time that his steps were treading a downward path. The flattering decree of the senate by which his consulship was held up to the imitation of all future magistrates, the offer of the proconsular power which was at the same time made to him, and his elevation by the emperor to the dignity of the priesthood, would all fail to reassure him; for at the same time Caius Cæsar was advanced to the priesthood also, and the favour with which the young prince was mentioned in an imperial rescript had been accepted by the citizens as a token that he was actually destined for the succession. Uneasy and irresolute in the midst of his success, Sejanus bethought himself of the resource which had hitherto never failed him, of a personal interview with his patron. He asked permission to visit his affianced bride, who was retained beneath the roof of her father-in-law at Capreæ, under the pretext of a sickness from which she was suffering. But to this demand Tiberius returned a refusal, though softened by the excuse that he was himself preparing speedily to remove with his family to Rome.[2] This repulse was followed by a decree forbidding divine honours

Tiberius refuses to see Sejanus,

[1] Hoeck. *Rœm. Gesch.* i. 3. p. 153. from Noris. *Epist. Cons.* in Græv. *Thes.* xi. 404.

[2] This seems to be the meaning of Dion, lviii. 7.: ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῖς μὲν ἱερωσύναις ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετεπέμψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτησαμένῳ οἱ ὅπως ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν, ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς μελλονύμφου νοσησάσης, ἔλθῃ, κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι προσέταξεν.

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to be paid to any mere mortal, and fatal significance was attached to a letter, throughout which the bare name of Sejanus was mentioned, without the addition of any of his titles. At the same time some of his personal enemies, it was observed, received unusual favours, all which things were not overlooked by an anxious and vigilant herd of courtiers, as ominous of impending disgrace. Already the crowd of senators and freedmen began to waver in their devotion to the upstart. But, on the other hand, his spirits were sometimes raised by the hints the emperor took care to drop of his own failing health; by the death of Nĕro in his confinement, starved, as was reported, by his unnatural uncle's commands; and by the appointment of his creature Fulcinius Trio to the consulship for the latter part of the year. He was most concerned, however, by the manifest failure of the hopes he had entertained of the good will of the people, whose predilection for Caius, the youngest of the beloved family of Germanicus, had recently been unequivocally expressed. Regretting that he had wanted courage to strike an open blow while armed with the authority of the fasces, he began now to concert with his nearest intimates the means of private assassination. The arrival of Tiberius at Rome would furnish ample opportunity to a friend, a kinsman, and a minister. Several of the senators had engaged in the enterprise, the guards had been tampered with and it was hoped secured; but the plot was soon extended beyond the limits of safety. One of the conspirators, named Satrius Secundus, already infamous as a delator,

who concerts measures against his life.

The conspiracy is divulged.

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revealed it to Antonia, the aged mother of Germanicus, a woman of high and noble character, who preferred, of the two persecutors of her race, to save Tiberius and destroy Sejanus.[1]

Measures of Tiberius to circumvent Sejanus.

The emperor, possessed of all the proofs he required, hesitated, as usual, to strike. He shrank from openly denouncing the traitor, and demanding his head of the senate; and against a covert surprise the traitor had sufficiently guarded himself. The stroke of Tiberius was prepared with infinite cunning, and executed with consummate dexterity and boldness. He entrusted it to Sertorius Macro, an officer of the body guard, on whom, in the absence of Sejanus, he had, perhaps, relied for his personal security at Capreæ. To this man he gave a commission to take the command of the prætorian bands at Rome, and even empowered him, in the last necessity, to lead forth Drusus from his dungeon, and put him at the head of affairs.[2] It might not be safe, however, to assume authority over a jealous soldiery, devoted, to all appearance, to their long accustomed chief, and estranged from an emperor whose person they had almost forgotten. But Macro, resolute and crafty, was not daunted. He aspired to fill himself the place of Sejanus, and so lofty an ambition was to be deterred by no ordinary peril. Reaching Rome at midnight, the 17th of October, he sought an interview with Mem-

[1] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 6. This conspiracy is unknown to Dion apparently, but alluded to by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Josephus. The loss of this portion of the Annals has deprived us of distinct proof of it, but it was mentioned no doubt in the Memoirs of Agrippina.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 23.; Suet. *Tib.* 65.

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mius Regulus, now the colleague of Trio in the consulship, and known for his steadfast attachment to the emperor. Opening to him the purport of his mission, he required him to convene the senate early in the morning in the temple of Apollo, which adjoined the imperial residence on the Palatine hill. The spot was somewhat removed from the common thoroughfares of the city, and the approach to it by three narrow gates might be guarded easily against a sudden attack. Another recommendation might be its proximity to the place where Drusus was confined, should it become necessary to produce him. Macro next repaired to Græcinus Laco, the captain of the Urban police, and with him concerted measures for occupying the avenues to the temple with his armed force, while he should himself amuse the dreaded prætorians, and keep them close in their distant quarters. Having made these preparations, he threw himself in the way of Sejanus, as the minister, wondering at the hasty summons to the senate, and foreboding no good to himself from it, was proceeding to the place of meeting under the escort of a band of guards. To him Macro blandly intimated that the occasion for which the Fathers were convened was in fact no other than the gracious appointment, now about to be announced, of Sejanus himself to the tribunitian power, an appointment equivalent, as was generally understood, to a formal association in the empire. Intoxicated with the prospect of the consummation of his hopes, at the moment when he had rashly resolved to hazard every thing on a daring treason, Sejanus was thrown completely off his guard.

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Shaking off at the door of the temple the attendance of his clients and soldiers, he entered with a light step and smiling countenance; while Macro, hastily communicating to the prætorians without that he was appointed their prefect, and promising them an ample largess on his installation, induced them to return with him to their camp, and attend at his announcement of the circumstance to their comrades. He only waited to present the emperor's letter to the consuls, and then withdrew quietly in the tumult of applause with which it was greeted, leaving Laco behind to watch the proceedings. He required a little time to compose the temper of the guards, of whose ready acceptance of the new appointment he could not feel secure. With this object the letter of Tiberius had been made more than usually diffuse. The consuls handed it in due form to the quæstor, and as soon as the buzz of expectation, and the compliments already passing between Sejanus and his flatterers, who comprehended the great body of the senate, were hushed, it was deliberately recited.

His dispatch to the senate.

Sejanus composed himself to endure the long preamble of the imperial missive, such as had before often taxed his patience, but never so much as on this fatal occasion.[1] It commenced with a passing reference to various affairs of state; then diverged to a gentle reproof of Sejanus himself for some trifling neglect; then wandered again to more general subjects, mixed with strange, and as it seemed fantastic, complaints of the solitude of the poor old man, and his precarious position. It re-

[1] Juvenal, x. 71.: Verbosa et grandis epistola venit A Capreis.

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quired one of the consuls to come with an armed retinue to Capreæ, and escort the Princeps into the city, that in the midst of his faithful citizens he might securely unbosom his griefs. From these desultory complaints, however, the letter descended gradually to particulars, and proceeded to demand the punishment of certain personages well known as adherents of Sejanus. For some time the senators had been growing uneasy, not knowing what upshot to anticipate to a missive, the tone of which waxed less and less in harmony with the addresses to which they had been accustomed. One by one they slunk away from the minister's side, and left him wondering and irresolute, still clinging to the hope that all would end as he wished, and shrinking to the last from the appeal to force which must irrevocably compromise him. The agitation of the assembly became more marked. Sejanus looked anxiously around. Suddenly, before the whole letter was yet unrolled, he found himself closely thronged by the chiefs of the senate, and precluded from shifting his position, while the sentence with which the long missive terminated denounced him as a traitor by name, and required the consuls to place him under arrest. Regulus called upon him to surrender. Unaccustomed to hear the voice of authority, or bewildered with the sense of danger, he paused, and on a second summons demanded in confusion whether he was actually called? Once more the summons was repeated, and as he rose, Laco confronted him sword in hand, the senators sprang in a body to their feet, and heaped insults and reproaches

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upon him; while Regulus, fearing the risks of delay, staid not to put the question to the vote, but on the first voice given for his arrest, bade the lictors seize his hands, and hurried him off under an escort of guards and magistrates. Rapidly as he was transported from the Palatine to the Mamertine dungeon, for no measures of law or etiquette were kept at a crisis of such peril, the populace was already apprised of his disgrace, and as he was led across the Forum he might behold with his own eyes the consummation of his fall in the overthrow of his statues with ropes and hatchets. The effigies of public men, conspicuous in the Sacred Way, or enshrined in halls and theatres, served often to divert from more important objects the fury of an enraged populace. To crush the marble image of an enemy to powder, to break the gold or brass for the melting pot, and condemn to ignoble uses the hated limbs and lineaments, was the first impulse of scorn and passion, and might sometimes save his palace from destruction and his family from outrage.[1] Macro in the mean time had not been less successful in the camp. By boldly advancing his offers to an immense amount, he had appeased the first outbreak of sedition among the soldiers, and when the senators ascertained that they were secure on that side, they met again the same day in the temple of Concord, as the spot nearest to the prison. Here encouraged by the acclamations of the people and the indif-

[1] See the well-known lines of Juvenal, x. 61. foll.:

Ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellæ.

ference of the prætorians, they proceeded to anticipate the well understood desire of the sovereign, by decreeing death to the traitor. Sejanus was immediately strangled in the depths of his horrid dungeon, and his body dragged to the foot of the Gemonian stairs for public exposure. His death was followed without delay by the arrest of his family, his kinsmen and his friends, the accomplices of his cherished schemes, or the instruments of his fraud and cruelty; while every one who hated the favourite or professed to love the emperor hurried to the spot where his remains were lying, and trod with contumely upon the ruins of power.[1]

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The first days which followed the consummation of this tragedy were filled at Rome with scenes of confusion and slaughter. The populace rushing from one extreme to the other, now denounced the fallen minister as the perverter of the emperor's well known generosity, and wreaked upon his friends and creatures their vengeance for every wrong which had been inflicted by Tiberius upon the children and adherents of Germanicus. The Prætorians were offended at the superior reliance which the emperor had placed on the Vigiles, and vented their unreasonable indignation in acts of riot and plunder in the city. The senators, one and all, apprehensive of the jealousy both of the emperor and the populace, rushed headlong into condemnation of every act of flattery they had so lately committed. They issued a decree that no man should put on mourning for the traitor,

Confusion at Rome among all orders of the citizens.

[1] Dion, lviii. 9—11.; Seneca, *de Tranqu. Anim.* ii. 9.: Quo die illum senatus deduxerat populus in frusta divisit. Juvenal, l. c.

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that a statue of Liberty should be erected in the Forum, that a day of public rejoicing should be held, and finally that the anniversary of the happy event should be sanctified by extraordinary shows and solemnities. Excessive honours, they proclaimed, should never again be paid to a subject: and no vow should be conceived in the name of any mortal man, save of the emperor only.[1] Yet, so inconsistent is servility, they heaped in the same breath distinctions almost equal to those of Sejanus upon both Macro and Laco, which only the good sense of those fortunate officers induced them to decline. They urged Tiberius to accept the title of Father of his Country, an assumption he had ever modestly declined, and now again rejected with becoming resolution, as well as the proposal that the senate should swear to all his acts. His rugged nature was softened by the sense of his deliverance. The iron tears glistened on his cheek. *Steadfast as I feel myself*, he said, *in good and patriotic principles, yet all things human are liable to change; and never, so may the Gods help me, will I bind the Fathers to respect all the future acts of one who, even by falling from his right senses, may at any time fall from virtue.*" [2]

Intense anxiety of Tiberius.

Tiberius, however, on his solitary rock had suffered hours of intense and restless anxiety. The desperate resolution to which he had braced himself for the destruction of Sejanus had given a

[1] The few existing coins of Sejanus have been purposely defaced, Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vi. 196. We have busts ascribed to Brutus, Cicero, and Antonius, but none, I believe, of the disgraced minion of Tiberius.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 67.

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shock to his whole system, and during the interval of suspense he seemed altogether unnerved. He had disposed a system of telegraphic communications to reach from Rome to Capreæ; and while, stationed on the highest pinnacle of his island, he watched for the concerted signal of success or failure, a squadron of the swiftest triremes lay in readiness below to waft him, if required, without a moment's delay to the legions of Gaul or Syria.[1] When at last the news of the arrest and execution of his victim reached him, though relieved from an intolerable weight of anxiety, he was yet so far from recovering his equanimity that he refused admittance to the deputation of senators, knights, and citizens sent in all haste to congratulate him; nor would he even grant an interview to Regulus, his well-tried adherent, when he came, as the letter had directed him, to escort the emperor to Rome with a military equipage.

Proscription of the friends of Sejanus.

That the fall of a discarded favourite should be followed by the disgrace of his family, and perhaps of his most intimate associates, would not be extraordinary under any monarchical regime; but the wide and sanguinary proscription which now descended upon the nobility of Rome may confirm our surmise of the actual guilt of Sejanus, and of the real discovery of a plot against the person of the ruler. Had indeed the long gathering discontent of the citizens come at last to a head? were the murmurs which, whether waking or sleeping, ever pressed upon the ears of Tiberius, actually

[1] Dion, lviii. 13.; Suet. *Tib.* 65.: Speculabundus ex altissima rupe.

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about to explode in revolt or assassination? was the long day-dream of his life, that he *held a wolf by the ears*, on the point of being realized in a fatal catastrophe? Such at least was the conviction under which his courage and even his reason staggered. Tormented as he was by these miserable alarms, we can be little surprised at the bloodshed in which he sought to drown his apprehensions. Yet in the midst of his frenzy, he was not unmindful of his accustomed policy. The culprits whom he demanded for punishment were, at least at first, a few only of the most conspicuous; and these, with perhaps not more than one or two exceptions, he was content to reserve in custody for a future sentence. The choice as well as the condemnation of the majority of these victims fell to the senate itself, which partly from hatred of the fallen minister, partly to ingratiate itself with his terrified and indignant master, lent a ready ear to the delators, or impelled the course of justice with encouragements and rewards. Among the first to follow the fortunes of Sejanus was his uncle Blæsus, the object but recently of such special honours. Yet the sons of Blæsus were spared; and even a brother of the great criminal was suffered to escape, though, if we may believe a strange anecdote which has been reported to us, he had ventured to hold up the emperor to unseemly ridicule.[1] One of his nearest associates,

[1] The voluntary deaths of two Blæsi, evidently near relations and probably sons of Blæsus the uncle, are mentioned on a later occasion. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 40. Lucius Sejanus, as prætor, had taken the fancy of ridiculing Tiberius, who was bald, by collecting a set of bald per-

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named Terentius, was suffered to plead that, in giving his confidence to the favourite in the height of his influence, he had done no more than follow the example of Tiberius himself. A horrid story indeed is related of the execution of the young children of Sejanus, who were hurried off to death, perhaps with circumstances of more than ordinary atrocity, in the first frenzy of the proscription.[1] It has been imagined that the historian Velleius Paterculus, whose brief but spirited sketch of Roman affairs terminates with the sixteenth year of Tiberius, and who is notorious for his flattery of Sejanus, was involved in the general wreck of the fallen minister's adherents: but there seems no reason to suppose this, the work itself having evidently reached its destined termination.[2] On the whole, it would appear that Tiberius, almost

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formers for the Floralia. The 5000 link boys, who were appointed to light the populace on their return from the theatre, were all closely shaven. Tiberius pretended not to notice the insult. Bald men, adds the historian, were from that time called Sejani, one does not well see why. Dion, lviii. 19.

[1] The story can only be told in the words of Tacitus himself: Portantur in carcerem filius imminentium intelligens, puella adeo nescia, ut crebro interrogaret, quod ob delictum, et quo traheretur? neque facturam ultra: et posse se puerili verbere moneri. Tradunt temporis ejus auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum juxta compressam: exin oblisis faucibus, id ætatis corpora in Gemonias abjecta. *Ann.* v. 9. By the salvo, tradunt, &c., I conceive the writer to intimate that the story was not detailed in all its horrors by accredited histories, but was one of the flying anecdotes of the day (comp. *Ann.* i. 1.: Recentibus odiis compositæ), which he found too piquant to omit from his tableau. Compare the reference to it in Suetonius, who carelessly generalizes the particular story into an ordinary occurrence. *Tib.* 61. Dion (lviii. 11.) merely copies from the above.

[2] Vell. ii. 131.: Voto finiendum volumen sit.

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as much afraid to follow up his blow as in the first instance to strike it, was satisfied with watching from his retreat, which for several months he did not venture to quit, the proceedings of the senate against all who could be deemed his enemies. Nor was it only fear for himself that alternately exasperated and unnerved him. A terrible disaster recurred to his memory. The death of his son had been unexpected and premature. Sejanus had solicited the widow in marriage. Suspicion worked fiercely in the tyrant's brain. Had Drusus perished by poison, and was Sejanus the murderer? The surmise was speedily verified. Apicata, the divorced wife of Sejanus, had been spared in the search after the accomplices of his recent crimes. Her hatred to the husband who had so deeply injured her was a sufficient guarantee perhaps for her innocence of all concert with him now. But when she saw her children involved in the fate of their father she was distracted with conflicting feelings.

Vengeance on the murderers of Drusus.

As the last revenge she could take upon the cause of all her misery, she revealed to the emperor every circumstance connected with the death of Drusus, with which she appears to have made herself well acquainted — the amours of Sejanus and Livilla, their guilty hopes and machinations, and the means by which they effected the destruction of their miserable victim. Having made this disclosure, and excited the horror and dismay of the emperor to a pitch of frenzy, she put an end to her own life. Eight years had elapsed since the crime had been committed; but means for investigating the circumstances were still at hand,

nor were objects wanting on whom the thirst for vengeance might be wreaked. The slaves and other instruments employed were sought out and put to the question in the presence of Tiberius at Capreæ, and the guilt of Livilla established beyond a doubt.[1] The public execution of a daughter of the imperial house was still an act from which the emperor would shrink; but he had other means not less sure for punishing her, and the report that, spared the cord or the falchion, she was reduced to death by famine in the custody of her mother-in-law Antonia seems not unworthy of belief.[2]

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Early in the year 785 Tiberius crossed the narrow strait which separates Capreæ from Surrentum, and made a progress along the Campanian coast, as if about to revisit his capital. The citizens, still willing to deceive themselves as to his real character and motives, were exulting in the assurance that with the fall of Sejanus a marked and happy change would become apparent in his behaviour. To the blighting influence of an unworthy favourite they fondly ascribed the reserve, the moroseness, and hardness of their master's temper, forgetting how the germs of all these vices had been already manifested in his early youth, and that they were such as advancing years could not fail to confirm and aggravate. But as they had lately clapped their hands with savage

Tiberius quits Capreæ and approaches Rome.

[1] The stories of the tortures which used to be enacted in the presence of Tiberius at Capreæ for his amusement, of the bodies thrown over the cliffs, &c. (Suet. *Tib.* 62.), originated probably in the report of the proceedings of this domestic tribunal.

[2] Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 62. with Dion, lviii. 11.

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delight over every fresh victim offered to the emperor's safety, so they were now prepared to welcome the emperor himself, as one restored from an unjust exile, and to exchange with him smiles of mutual love and reviving confidence. From Rhodes he had returned to the cold embrace of a morose and haughty father; from Capreæ he would be welcomed by the acclamations of a humble and self-reproachful people. But the ardent greeting they reserved for him was destined never to be tendered. They were surprised, perhaps, to hear that his excessive timidity had induced him to quit the land, and take refuge on board a trireme, which bore him up the Tiber, while guards attended on his progress, and rudely cleared away the spectators from either bank. Such was the strange fashion in which he ascended the river as far as the Cæsarean Gardens and the Naumachia of Augustus; but on reaching this spot, and coming once more beneath the hills of Rome, he suddenly turned his prow without landing, and glided rapidly down the stream, nor did he pause again till he had regained his island.[1] This extraordinary proceeding, the effect of fear or disgust, caused no doubt deep-felt mortification among the populace. It was followed by indignant murmurs, and petulantly ascribed to the foulest motives. Such, it was muttered, was the caprice, not of a Princeps or an Imperator, the child of law and organized government, but of a king; such a king as ruled with despotic sway over the slaves of Asia; such a king as, guarded in the citadel of Ctesiphon or

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 1.

Artaxata, despised all human feelings, and trampled on all principles, sporting, for his selfish pleasure, with not the lives only, but the honour of his miserable subjects; such as tore from them their children to mutilate or deflower, and stimulated his brutal passions by the nobility of his victims. All this and worse was now freely ascribed to the recluse of Capreæ: he slunk, it was asserted, from the sight of the good and pure, to the obscurity of his detestable orgies; he was the patron of panders, the sport of minions; he was drunk with wine, and drunk with blood; the details which were freely circulated of his cruelty and licentiousness were coloured from the most loathsome scenes of the stews and the slave-market.

Atrocious licentiousness ascribed to him.

Such, unfortunately, was the open and flagrant character of Roman vice, that even the best and purest of the citizens were too much familiarized with its worst features to shrink from the task of describing it with hideous minuteness. We may be permitted to cast a veil over a picture which called up no blush on the face of that unhappy generation, the fidelity of which, as regards Tiberius himself, we have no right either to affirm or deny. The excessive sensuality of the Roman nobles, pampered by all the appliances of art and luxury, was in fact the frenzy of a class deprived of the healthy stimulus of public action, and raised above the restraints of decency and self-respect. The worst iniquities ascribed to Tiberius may be paralleled in the conduct of private individuals, the accounts of which may have been coloured by a prurient imagination, but at least have not been dis-

This licentiousness the common vice of his class.

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torted by malice.[1] The senators, however, evinced no shame at the degradation into which their chief had fallen. They hastened to vote that the estates of Sejanus should be confiscated, not to the treasury of the state, but to the private purse of the emperor; and then, apprehending perhaps that his late hasty retreat had been caused by distrust of his subjects, ordained that whenever he vouchsafed to visit the Curia a special guard of their own body should attend upon him. A similar honour had been tendered to Julius Cæsar, and even Augustus, on a certain occasion, had availed himself of such a protection; it is not easy, therefore, to understand why it should have been left in this case to one of the least considerable of the order to propose, or be discussed and sanctioned with a smile of ridicule.[2] Tiberius, however, declined the equivocal compliment, which, indeed, would have little served to calm his fears had he really entertained the intention of again entering

[1] If I accept the charges of Tacitus and Suetonius against Tiberius, it is from my persuasion of the general character of vice in high places, as pourtrayed by Juvenal, Pliny, Seneca, Petronius, and in fact almost every writer of these times. The turn given to them by his apologist Linguet cannot certainly be extended to cover the crimes of the whole class.—Tibère n'était qu'un homme d'ordre, un peu sévère seulement, un bon administrateur, mais qui croyait trop Séjan sur parole, et qui, ennuyé du pouvoir, aimant le plaisir, ferma trop longtemps les yeux sur quelques légèretés de son ministre: on a médit de sa retraite de Caprée; c'étaient 'des jardins délicieux,' des boudoirs en rocaille et peints à la façon de Wateau, où ce veillard 's'était retiré pour se livrer à une vie douce et solitaire, où, las des affaires, jaloux de son repos, et d'une gaieté rarement connue des princes,' il donnait 'des soupers agréables, et ne se montrait plus qu'à des amis par qui il ne craignait par d'être distrait." Such is Linguet's view of the matter as given by Champagny, *Césars*, i. 265.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 2.; Dion, lviii. 17.

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the senate-house; for it was among his proposed guards themselves, of whom few were not related to or associated with some of his victims, that his most dangerous enemies were numbered. At this moment his breast was torn by conflicting alarms. When his first fury against Sejanus was satiated, or his first blind apprehensions removed, he showed an inclination to desist from the proscription, and allowed himself in more than one instance to be easily swayed to mercy; from no feeling of compassion or clemency perhaps, but for fear of irritating too many families, and aggravating the perils against which he was guarding. But, on the other hand, the spirit of delation which he had evoked was now too potent to be laid. It had become the ambition, the glory, the livelihood of many; and to deprive them of it was to sow the seeds of a deep and perilous dissatisfaction among the cleverest, the boldest, and the most desperate class of citizens. While trimming the vessel of his fortunes between this Scylla and Charybdis, another rock soon appeared ahead. News was brought to Rome that a pretender to the name of the unfortunate Drusus, still a prisoner in the palace, had appeared in the provinces of Achaia and Asia, and had deceived many by the similarity of his person, and the devotion to him of some of the freedmen of the emperor himself. As the reputed son of Germanicus he was received in various quarters with open arms. The Greeks were easily moved by any thing strange and novel; the legions of Egypt and Syria, to which he was making his way, had loved and

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admired his father. But the vigour of the imperial commanders speedily checked his enterprise. He was pursued across the Ægean and the Isthmus of Corinth to Nicopolis in Epirus, where, it appeared, having been more strictly interrogated, he had denied his pretended claims to be the son of Germanicus, and had represented himself as a personage of noble, but inferior and less invidious parentage. From Epirus he had taken ship as if for Italy, while the emperor was duly apprised by his lieutenants that he might be expected to arrive there. This, according to some accounts, was the last that was publicly heard of him: other writers, however, pretended to know for certain that he fell into the hands of the emperor, and was promptly destroyed.[1]

A. D. 33. A. U. 786. An impostor arrested and put to death.

Horrible end of the young Drusus.

It is not impossible that the miserable ends of Drusus and Agrippina, which followed at no long interval, were determined and hastened by this untoward event. When Tiberius perceived how easily even a false Drusus might place himself at the head of a movement against him, he might be impelled at last to make his decision regarding the fate of the real one. What that decision would be could not be for a moment doubtful. The poor youth had been too fearfully wronged to be again trusted with liberty. Yet Tiberius must have regretted the step he had taken, at the suggestion of Sejanus, of alienating his innocent kinsman from

[1] Tacitus (*Ann.* v. 10.) relates this occurrence towards the end of the year 784, while Dion (lviii. 25.) places it as late as 787, supposing, perhaps, that it could not have occurred before the death of the real Drusus.

him. It was not that he wished to clear the field of promotion for a grandson by the removal of his grand-nephews. To Caius, the youngest son of Germanicus, he was at the moment evincing the highest favour, while he kept his mother and brother in such cruel durance. To the stripling Caius he seemed already to hold out the prospect of succession: he bred him under his own eye at Capreæ; he kept him in close attendance on his person, and gave him in marriage one of the noblest maidens of the city, the daughter of M. Junius Silanus.[1] It was rumoured, not unnaturally, that he was about to reconcile himself to the surviving members of his nephew's family, to atone for the death of Nero by the release and reinstatement in their proper honours of Drusus and Agrippina. But the relentless monster had determined far otherwise. Not only had he destined Drusus, after three years' confinement, to death, but he allowed him to perish in lingering torment by withholding from him necessary food. Upon the subject of death by starvation the Romans seem to have had a peculiar feeling which we can hardly understand. In many cases of suicide which occurred about this period, we find the sufferer choosing rather to perish miserably by inanition than to give himself a blow. More particularly we may observe in the imperial murders which have been recorded, that the victim was often left to die of mere want, and untouched by the sword. A superstitious notion may have been current that death by famine was a kind of divine

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 12.; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20. M. Junius Silanus was the brother of Decimus Silanus, the paramour of the younger Julia.

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infliction; it might seem like simply leaving nature to take its appointed course. The Romans were so familiar with the practice of exposing infants, and even the infirm and old among their slaves, that they may have regarded with some lenity the crime of murder in this, as they deemed it, extenuated form. It was merely, forsooth, leaving to the care of the Gods those whom it was inconvenient or impolitic to care for oneself. Tiberius, with a bluntness of perception which seems almost inconceivable, addressed a letter to the senate, detailing in the minutest way the circumstances of this miserable death, showing how the poor wretch had prolonged his existence for nine days by gnawing the stuffing of his pallet, and recording every sigh and groan he had uttered, even to the last desperate imprecations he had heaped on his tormentor. Every syllable was duly vouched by the testimony of slaves, who had been set to watch his last moments. It is impossible to believe that this was a mere wanton piece of unnatural cruelty. It must have had a political purpose; and we may conjecture that it was meant, first, to establish on unquestionable testimony the actual demise of Drusus; and, secondly, to prove that no drop of the Julian blood had been shed, no spark of his divine spirit extinguished, by the hand of the executioner.[1]

Agrippina starves herself.

The senate shuddered, we are assured, with horror at the recital of this abominable epistle; but the persecution of the house of Germanicus had not yet reached its climax. After the down-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 24.; Suet. *Tib.* 65.; Dion, lviii. 13. (A.U. 786. A.D. 33.)

fall of Sejanus, in whom she recognised her fiercest enemy, Agrippina may have allowed herself to indulge fresh hopes. But it soon became only too manifest that the crimes of Sejanus, by which she had herself so grievously suffered, were made a pretext for cruelties with which they had no connexion, and that the exasperation of the emperor against his old minister would bring no alleviation to the lot of that minister's victims. She continued to linger in cheerless exile: whether in that solitude she was afflicted with the intelligence of her two elder sons' miserable end, or suffered to learn the favour with which her youngest was at the same time entertained, she seems in either case to have soon despaired for herself, and to have resolved to escape by her own deed from miseries which were now past relief. It was reported that she put an end to her own existence by pertinacious abstinence from food, in spite of the emperor's command that nourishment should be forced upon her; an act of fortitude not unworthy of her determined and vigorous character. Even after her death Tiberius was base enough to insult her memory, by charging her with a criminal amour, and insinuating that she had abandoned life in disgust and mortification at the execution of her lover Asinius. The common voice of her fellow-citizens, not too prone to believe in virtue, absolved her from this foul accusation; her faults were not those at least of feminine weakness, and had her chastity been assailable, it would not perhaps have withstood the artifices of Sejanus.[1] Nevertheless,

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[1] I cannot bring myself to dwell upon the faults of Agrippina; but

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that her memory might be branded with ignominy, Tiberius required the senate to pronounce the anniversary of her birth a day of evil omen, and to note in the calendar as a providential coincidence that her death had befallen her on the day of the punishment of Sejanus. He publicly claimed credit for himself that he had not taken away her life by violent means, and had forborne from exposing her body in the Gemoniæ. The senate acquiesced and applauded as it was required, and decreed solemn thanks to the emperor for his clemency; moreover, that a yearly festival should be celebrated on the auspicious eighteenth of October. The remains of Agrippina and her children were excluded from the mausoleum of the Cæsars, until Caius at a later period caused them to be exhumed from their ignoble sepulchres and removed to the resting-place that became them.[1]

Massacre of the proscribed friends of Sejanus.

The prosecution meanwhile of the friends of Sejanus had continued unabated, the Emperor vying with his own creatures and flatterers in discovering matter of accusation against every one who could be proved or credibly suspected of participation in his guilt. But Tiberius had actually shed the blood of a few only: his victims were quartered as captives on the magistrates and nobles, or confined, perhaps, in stricter durance within his

it must be observed that even Tacitus represents them in very strong language: Æqui impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis fœminarum vitia exuerat.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 25. Agrippina died on the 18th of October, 786, two years after Sejanus. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 33, 54.; *Calig.* 15.; Dion, lviii. 22., lix. 3. The bones of Drusus only were dispersed and could not be recovered.

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own palace. Some of them had been plundered and reduced to beggary, some, perhaps, had been tortured; some were guilty, but their lives protected by their powerful connexions; others, unquestionably innocent, might be personally obnoxious. Tiberius was harassed by the anxiety of determining how to apportion their punishments; whom it might be safe to pardon, and whom it would be invidious to destroy. Suddenly the tyrant was seized with a horrid caprice, a fit, it may be, of madness, on the verge of which his unquiet brain was ever trembling, and he conceived the idea of relieving himself from his perplexity by a single stroke of the pen. He issued an order, such as there was no parallel for in his previous policy, and such as, in one so little wont to initiate a novelty either in counsel or in act, can hardly be ascribed to anything but uncontrollable frenzy, that all the captives of the Sejanian conspiracy should at once be put to death as traitors. The order was executed without compunction. Not men only but women, not adults only but children, were involved in the frightful massacre: some were noble, many of baser birth; in some places they perished singly, in others they fell in promiscuous slaughter one upon another. The mangled bodies were exposed in the Gemoniæ, and guards were placed around to drive away their mourning relatives, or to watch and report their lamentations. After some days' exposure the remains were dragged to the river bank and flung into the stream, and even those which were cast back upon the land were forbidden the rites of

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sepulture. The common duties of humanity, says Tacitus, were abandoned in the general terror; and all natural compassion cowered in silence beneath the tyranny that reigned rampant in every quarter.[1]

Despair and apparent insanity of Tiberius.

It has been suggested that there may have been a touch of insanity in the conduct of Tiberius at this period, and certainly there is something more than the mere atrocity of the acts themselves to countenance a supposition which may afford, perhaps, a slight relief to the mind of the reader. The blood of the Claudii, as we have before noticed, was tainted, apparently through many generations, with an hereditary vice, sometimes manifesting itself in extravagant pride and insolence, at others in ungovernable violence; and the whole career of Tiberius from his youth upwards, in its abrupt alternations of control and indulgence, of labour and dissipation, had been such in fact as might naturally lead to the unsettlement of his mental powers. This inward disturbance showed itself in a very marked manner in the startling inconsistency which became now more and more apparent in his conduct. While at this period Taci-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 19. Comp. Suet. (*Tib.* 61.), who, however, specifies twenty as the greatest number that fell, at least on any one day, and the massacre probably passed off in a single paroxysm. The language of Tacitus, it may be presumed, is considerably exaggerated. But Lucan's tableau of the proscriptions is not improbably coloured from the account he had himself heard from the witnesses of this dreadful sacrifice (ii. 101.):

> Nobilitas cum plebe perit, lateque vagatur
> Ensis, et a nullo revocatum est pectore ferrum . . . .
> . . . . nec jam alveus amnem,
> Nec retinent ripæ, redeuntque cadavera campo.

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tus denounces in the most glowing terms the vehemence and recklessness of his cruelty, the particular anecdotes he relates of his behaviour are generally indicative of transient fits of leniency. He was extremely sensitive, says Suetonius, to the pasquinades which circulated against him in the capital, to the imputation freely cast upon him of degrading and secret enormities, and to the furious invectives of his perishing victims. The king of the Parthians, Artabanus, had the audacity to address him a letter, in which he noted with disgust his indolence and shameless indulgences, and recommended him to satisfy by a voluntary death the sentiment of universal execration. Yet these charges and insults Tiberius himself most freely published to the world at the very time that he complained so bitterly of them: no man could say worse things of him than he spontaneously and consciously admitted of himself in the extraordinary revelations he made of his own feelings. At last, we are told, he fell into a state of disgust and desperation. A letter he addressed to the senate has been in part preserved to us by his awe-stricken contemporaries, whom it deeply impressed, breathing as it does the very spirit of incipient madness in the terrors of a distressed conscience, unable to fasten upon the precise and proper object of its perturbation. *What to write to you, Fathers, at this juncture,* he said, *or how not to write, or what to forbear from writing, the Gods confound me worse than I feel day by day confounded, if I know.*[1] So had his crimes and abomi-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 6. under the date 785 : His verbis exorsus est, Quid

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nations, says Tacitus, redounded to his own punishment. *Nor in vain*, the historian goes on to moralize, *was the wisest of philosophers wont to maintain that, could the hearts of tyrants be opened to our gaze, we should behold there the direst wounds and ulcers; for the mind is torn with cruelty, lust, and evil inclinations, not less truly than the body by blows.*[1]

His mortification at the suicide of Cocceius Nerva.

The despair of the now miserable tyrant is hardly less strongly marked in his distress at the circumstances of the death of an attached adviser and servant, Cocceius Nerva, a man held in high repute as a legal authority, and one whose character and attainments were among the most respectable supports of the Cæsarean government. The fortunes of Nerva were flourishing in the full sunshine of his master's favour; his health of body was unimpaired, and his mind mature and vigorous: he had no outward cause of chagrin, none of apprehension for the future. Yet this man, it was announced, had formed the resolution of putting an end to his own existence; for it had become the fashion to make an avowal to one's friends and family of such an intention. Tiberius sought the suicide's chamber, where he was calmly awaiting, in discourse with his friends and relations, with resolute refusal of all sustenance, a painful and lingering death. Tiberius entreated him to explain the motive of this desperate determination, to which, however, the sufferer could not

scribam vobis, P. C., aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, Di me Deæque pejus perdant quam perire me quotidie sentio, si sciam.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* l. c. from Plato *de Republ.* p. 575.; Ritter in loc.

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be persuaded to return a distinct answer. With friendly zeal he solicited him to desist from it, but again without success. Lastly, he urged how injurious it would be to his own reputation as emperor, if one of his nearest intimates should thus make, as it were, his escape from life without even assigning a motive to allay the agitation of the public mind. Nerva calmly waived all discussion upon the subject, and the all-powerful ruler found himself repulsed and impotent in the presence of a man who had sentenced himself to death. Those who were best acquainted with the real sentiments of the suicide averred that the melancholy state of affairs had filled the sage's mind with alarm and indignation, and that he had deliberately resolved to shun the future with honour, while still uninjured and unassailed.[1]

Voluntary death of Arruntius.

Nor, it may be believed, did the example of Nerva remain without imitators. None of them, however, was so illustrious as L. Arruntius, a noble, as we have seen, so distinguished in character and position that Augustus had not omitted to note him among those chiefs of the senate who might, as he said, have contended with his own heir for the empire. This man, however, notwithstanding this invidious distinction, and in spite of the crabbed humour with which he had ventured to gibe at the emperor himself, had escaped unharmed almost to the last year of Tiberius. Yet from the fortitude of his crowning act we may believe that he had merited this escape by no unworthy compliances: he had merely abstained

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 26.

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from irritating the jealousy of his master by measuring himself with him in overt opposition. On the occasion of a disastrous inundation, it was to Arruntius that the task was assigned of providing for the future security of the city, which involved perhaps some arbitrary interference with the rights of property, of which the Romans, however great the necessity for it might be, were always excessively jealous. At one period Tiberius proposed to remove him from Rome by the honourable appointment of a government in Spain; but again, unable to prevail on himself to entrust a possible rival with so much power, he had kept him by his own side in the capital, requiring him to execute his office by the hands of legates. The delators had been eager to fasten a charge upon one who stood so exposed to their aim; but he had defeated at least one accusation, and secured the punishment of his assailants. At last, however, he was more fatally involved in a charge brought against a certain Albucilla, the wife of Satrius, the denouncer of Sejanus. Treasonable practices, impiety, as it was phrased, against the emperor, had been alleged against her; and as the looseness of her conduct was notorious, the known or supposed partners of her debauchery were presumed from that circumstance to be concerned also in her disloyalty. Among these was Arruntius; but so little could be really advanced against him, or so adverse or indifferent was Tiberius to the prosecution, that the accused were permitted to remain at large with only a vague charge hanging over them. Some of them by merely keeping quiet

escaped all further animadversion. The friends of Arruntius would have persuaded him to rely upon the clemency of the emperor, and make no movement on his own part. But the proud man refused to owe his safety to an evasion. *The same conduct*, he declared, *does not become all men alike. I have lived long enough. I have nothing to regret but having endured existence so long in the midst of so many insults and dangers, exposed as I have been to the arrogance formerly of Sejanus, and now of Macro:*—for Macro had by this time become almost as obnoxious as his predecessor. — *True, I might perhaps still secure myself for the brief period which yet remains to the aged emperor; but how could I hope to escape intact through the reign of his destined successor?* With these words he caused his veins to be opened, and allowed himself to bleed to death. He foresaw a more intolerable servitude impending, and resolved to flee alike from the recollection of the past, and the prospect of the future. Though Arruntius himself might have escaped on this occasion, Albucilla was eventually condemned and executed; while those of her accomplices were selected for banishment or disgrace who were most obnoxious for their crimes, and particularly for that of delation.[1]

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In the midst of his terrors and his cruelties Tiberius was distressed and perhaps amazed at the evidence these desperate deeds afforded of the horror in which his government was now held. If in the proscription of all, even of his nearest kin, who had seemed to menace his power, he had

Reflections on the policy of Tiberius.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 47, 48. under the year 790.

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shown himself sanguinary and relentless, yet these were but few in number; they belonged, as he might presume, moreover, to a class too far exalted above the mass even of the nobles of Rome to excite much general sympathy for their fate. Why, he might ask, should the Romans interest themselves in mere family quarrels, and the bootless question, which candidate for the tyranny should actually climb the throne? But, on the other hand, he may have flattered himself that in the punishment of many bad citizens, by which his reign had been distinguished, he had shown a sense of equity and public spirit. Every Roman was concerned in his overthrow of an upstart like Sejanus; in the just retribution he had launched at the detestable delators, the foes not of the prince but of the people themselves; in the high moral example he had displayed in chastising the vices of women of quality; in pronouncing sentence on an Albucilla, a Claudia, an Urgulania, and recently a Plancina: for the wife of Cnæus Piso, though long protected, first by the favour of Livia, and still later by the disinclination of Tiberius to give a triumph to Agrippina, had at last been sacrificed to the unappeased enmity of the citizens. He might affect to plead for himself, as his successor afterwards pleaded for him, that it was not he that had warred against the senate, but the senators against one another. Of the four great nobles indeed whom Augustus specified as not unworthy to compete with him for empire, three had since perished by violent deaths. Nor can Tiberius himself be relieved from the guilt of effecting

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the death of Asinius Gallus. Of neither Piso, however, nor Arruntius could it be said that he had devised and compassed his destruction; and the consideration in which Lepidus continued to be held shows that the highest rank and position was not necessarily fatal to its possessor.[1] M. Æmilius Lepidus, the son of Æmilius Paulus and a Fausta Cornelia, who thus combined in his origin descent from the most illustrious of the Roman houses, might have considered himself a far greater man than any Octavius or Antonius, and have looked down with complacent superiority upon even a Julius or a Claudius. But this distinguished noble had acquiesced in the choice, if such we may call it, of the Roman people: taught by the insignificance into which his kinsman the triumvir had fallen, that the day of great names had passed, that the nobles were unworthy to bear rule and the people incompetent, he had suffered the chief of the Claudii to take precedence of him in the senate; and while occupying himself the second place, he had used his influence discreetly and liberally, and had succeeded more than once in tempering the severity of his colleagues.[2] Another of the notabilities of the preceding reign, who had also retained his honours

[1] These four nobles are here mentioned together, because Tacitus leaves it uncertain whether Cnæus Piso or Arruntius was one of the three especially designated by Augustus. De prioribus (*i. e.* Gallus and Lepidus) consentitur: pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere. He adds, untruly as we have seen: Omnesque præter Lepidum, variis mox criminibus, struente Tiberio, circumventi sunt. *Ann.* i. 13.

[2] For instances of the influence of Lepidus, see Tac. *Ann.* iii. 50., iv. 20.

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under Tiberius, was Lucius Piso, chief pontiff and prefect of the city, a man of ability, without ambition, who had discharged the functions of a difficult post with tact and considerateness, while in the senate his voice had always been given on the side of justice, and when that was defeated, had at least recommended moderation.[1] Such were the men who, without despairing of their position, and flying to death or retirement, could find a sphere for their virtues even under the strong constraint of the imperial government; and from more than one passage of Tacitus, the most severe of all writers in judging the crimes of Tiberius and his policy, it appears to have been well understood among the nobles of Rome, that *even under bad princes there is still a sphere for great men;* that loyalty and moderation combined with industry and vigour obtain the more genuine honour, from the proneness of the proud and turbulent to rush on certain ruin without advantage to any.[2]

Question of succession to the empire.

It may be true that Tiberius, in one of his gloomiest moods, dissatisfied with himself yet indignant at the dissatisfaction of his people, actually gave vent to his vexation in the memorable quotation from a tragic writer, *After my death perish the world in fire.*[3] But the same sentiment has

[1] Vell. ii. 98.; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 10.: L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, facto obiit (ann. 785): nullius servilis sententiæ sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, cupienter moderans .... Ætas ad octogesimum annum processit .... præcipua ex eo gloria quod præfectus urbi recens continuam potestatem, et insolentia parendi graviorem, mire temperavit. For the scandalous charges against the prefect Piso, see above, chap. xliv. p. 198.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 20.; *Agric.* 42.

[3] Dion, lviii. 23.: τοῦτο, τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω

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been ascribed to other tyrants in later times, and may be regarded as expressive merely of the judgment mankind in general have formed of their reckless and extravagant selfishness. As regards Tiberius, indeed, it may have been put into his mouth by a later generation which had suffered under the sway of successors even worse than himself, and believed that in consigning them to such ruthless rulers he had evinced a wanton indifference to their misery, if not rather a fiendish exultation in it. But our estimate of the conduct of Tiberius in this particular must be founded on a fair consideration of the circumstances in which he was placed. We must not suffer ourselves to be biassed by the notions of a later age, to which the principle of direct appointments had become familiar. After weighing the statements of different writers, we shall see reason probably to accede to that of Tacitus in preference to others, according to whom Tiberius made no appointment, designation, or recommendation of a successor to the imperial prerogatives. He could not have done so without directly violating the settled principle of his government, which he pretended to found upon the spontaneous concession of the people. The establishment of monarchy was not even yet recognised as a constitutional fact. The chief of the Julii might appoint, like any private citizen, the heir to the domestic rites and honours of his

πυρί. See the allusions to the sentiment in the ancients, Cic. *de fin.* i. 19.; Senec. *de clem.* ii. 2.; Suet. *Ner.* 38.; Claudian *in Rufin.* ii. 19. in Reimar's note. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 62.: Identidem felicem Priamum vocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum exstitisset.

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house; but this inheritance conveyed no title to the Imperium or Principate, the Consular or the Tribunitian power. Herein lay, as Tiberius was well aware, the secret of the new government's weakness: this uncertainty as to the future was the main cause of the tyranny into which he had himself insensibly lapsed. No greater blessing could have been bestowed upon the Romans by a wise and honest ruler than the transmutation of the polity of Rome from a pretended commonwealth to an acknowledged monarchy. But dire experience had not yet perhaps taught them to acquiesce in the assumption by their dying chief of a power over their political future. Would they respect his disposition of their indefeasible prerogatives after his decease? Would they not, on the contrary, resent it? This was a question which Augustus had not ventured to ask. Yet the great founder of the empire had been too deeply interested in the success of his work to leave its prospects to blind chance. He had shown himself anxious, during his own term of government, to pave the way for the recognition of his intended successor, by gradually investing the proposed heir of his private fortunes with public honours and titles akin to his own; so that Tiberius had been able, on his father's decease, to glide, almost unobserved, into the sovereign power. Such undoubtedly was the generous policy which became a ruler to whom the interests of the state were really dear, and who sought to found the greatness of his own house upon the prosperity of the people. But to such a policy the spirit of

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Tiberius was not perhaps equal. A cruel misfortune had deprived him of Germanicus; but so Augustus also had lost his Agrippa. Drusus was removed from him by the treachery of an unworthy favourite; but in like manner his predecessor had had to mourn the early and ill-omened loss of Caius and Lucius. Here, however, the parallel ceased. While the first Princeps continued after every disappointment to repeat his genuine efforts to secure the principles of family succession, and called Tiberius himself, in default of still nearer kinsmen, into alliance and partnership in the empire; the second sacrificed all to an unworthy jealousy, and endured rather to murder his nephews than to risk the chance of being supplanted by them.

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Surviving members of the imperial family.

Accordingly, towards the end of his career, Tiberius found himself supported by only three surviving males of the lineage of Cæsar, and none of these had received any training in public life. Tiberius Claudius Drusus, born in the year 744, was the last of the sons of the eldest Drusus, and the nephew of the reigning emperor, by whom he had been adopted on his father's death, at the desire of Augustus. But Claudius (to give him the name by which he will become at a later period familiarly known to us) was reputed to be infirm both in health and understanding. Like Agrippa Postumus, he was destined from early youth to be excluded from public affairs, and all political instruction had been purposely withheld from him. Yet he was not perhaps destitute of talents; he devoted himself to the study of books, and pos-

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sibly he appreciated them, while the weakness of his bodily frame contributed to keep him from the ruder and coarser diversions, to which the want of practical employment might have driven a bolder and more vigorous man. His character and attainments, however, we shall have a future occasion to estimate more precisely: for the present it is enough to say that he had probably owed his life, amidst the fall of so many of his relations, to the general conviction that he was unfit to rule, and therefore not to be feared as a candidate for the suffrages of the people. Upon him the emperor scarcely deigned to bestow a thought at this crisis. Two others, however, there were, both much younger than Claudius, between whom the hopes of the Julian house were divided: Caius, the youngest son of Germanicus, and Tiberius, surnamed Gemellus, the child of the second Drusus; the one grand-nephew, the other grandson of the emperor, but both equally reputed his sons or grandsons by adoption.[1] Of these Caius was born in the year 765, Tiberius in 772.[2] The former had been enrolled at an early age among the augurs and pontiffs, and had since been advanced to the quæstorship, the first step in the legitimate career of honours; the latter had not

[1] It has been mentioned before that Agrippina had borne five sons and four daughters to Germanicus. The deaths of Nero and Drusus have been recorded in their place: two other sons seem to have died in infancy. Caius, the youngest of the five, was now the sole survivor.

[2] This Tiberius had also the name of Gemellus, which seems to show that he was one of the male twins whom Livilla bore to Drusus in the year 772. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 84.; see above, chap. xliii. The other child, as has been said, probably died in infancy.

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yet been introduced into public life, his tender years hardly yet permitting it. From neither of these striplings certainly could the emperor anticipate any rivalry with himself; but untried and almost unknown as they still were, he shrank from insulting even his subservient senate by claiming for them the highest prerogatives of power. The daughters of Germanicus he had married to citizens of distinction. Julia was united to Vinicius, whose municipal and equestrian extraction had been recently illustrated by the rise of both his father and grandfather to the consulship.[1] Drusilla had wedded a Cassius, whose family was plebeian, though it vied with the noblest of Rome in antiquity and reputation, besides the peculiar lustre which had been shed upon it in more recent times. A third daughter, who bore her mother's name, Agrippina, was affianced to a man of higher rank than either of these, a Cnæus Domitius Ahenobarbus, descended lineally from the three Domitii whose names have been successively signalized in these pages. A fourth, whose name has not been recorded, was united to the son of Quintilius Varus. Again, after the death of her husband Nero Germanicus, the younger Julia, daughter of Drusus and Livilla, had been espoused to Rubellius Blandus, a second connexion which might properly be regarded as an unworthy descent from the first, inasmuch as his nobility dated only from the last

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15. Vinicius, the patron of Velleius Paterculus, was probably an adherent of Sejanus, and owed his alliance with the Cæsarean family to the favour of so powerful a friend.

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generation.[1] But in casting his eyes upon these, and perhaps other scions of the old Roman aristocracy, Tiberius could discover none whose eminence entitled him to be exalted above all the rest of his order; the levelling effects of his tyranny were already manifest in the general mediocrity of talent in the senate, and the public mind was not unprepared to admit the rule of hereditary succession as a necessity of state.

Tiberius appoints Caius and Tiberius Gemellus heirs of his private fortune. A. D. 35. A. U. 788.

The bitterest of Tiberius's enemies admits, not as it would seem without some inconsistency, that he was anxious at heart to settle the succession on a secure footing, and would have disregarded, in making his choice, the opinion of his contemporaries, could he have felt assured of the approbation of a grateful posterity. Nevertheless, after much restless deliberation, the failing old man was constrained to leave it in all the uncertainty above described: he *abandoned to fate*, says Tacitus, *the decision to which he was himself unequal.*[2] But already in the year 788 he had made a testament, appointing Caius and Tiberius co-partners in his private heritage, with whatever advantage might

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 27.: Cujus avum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique meminerant. Juvenal (viii. 39.) employs the name of Rubellius to represent the pride of those who have greatness thrust upon them:

Tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli
Blande: tumes alto Drusorum stemmate tanquam
Feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses.
Ut te conciperet quæ sanguine fulget Iuli;
Non quæ ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.

Domitius, Vinicius, Cassius, and Rubellius are mentioned together in *Ann.* vi. 45. as the four progeneri, grandsons-in-law of Tiberius.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45.: Quippe illi non perinde curæ gratia præsentium quam in posteros ambitio: mox incertus animi, fesso corpore consilium, cui impar erat, fato permisit.

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thence accrue to them in regard to their public pretensions; and in the event of the death of either, the survivor was destined to inherit from the deceased.[1] The elder of the two princes at least was not unmoved by the prospect of the fortunes which seemed so likely to befall him. Caius was not insensible to the advantage he enjoyed in popular favour, and especially among the soldiers, as the son of Germanicus. Though actually born in the peaceful retirement of Antium, he had been carried in infancy to the stations of the Rhenish legions, and bred up in the midst of the soldiery, and he gladly countenanced, we may suppose, the common belief that he had first seen the light in the camp.[2] As a child, he had been accoutred in the military garb, and it was from the boots, or caligæ, which he was made to wear that the soldiers gave him his familiar nickname of Caligula. The mutiny on the Rhine was actually quelled, it was said, by showing to the troops their young pet and playfellow.[3] But these rude caresses were not, as he early learnt, to be accepted without danger, and he was careful to disguise the pleasure he took in

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Caius Germanicus Cæsar, nicknamed Caligula.

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 76.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 8.: Ubi natus sit incertum diversitas tradentium facit. Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus Tiburi genitum scribit; Plinius Secundus in Treveris, vico Ambiatino, supra confluentes .... Versiculi, imperante mox eo divulgati, apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant:

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis
Jam designati Principis omen erat.

Ego in actis Antii editum invenio.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* i. 41.; Dion, lvii. 5.; Suet. *Calig.* 9.: Caligulæ cognomen castrensi joco traxit, quia manipulario habitu inter milites educabatur .... post excessum Augusti tumultuantes .... solus haud dubie conspectu suo flexit.

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the favour in which the citizens held him. Nor less anxiously did he conceal any emotions of an opposite character, which the sufferings of his mother or brothers may have awakened in his breast. A practised dissembler from his early years, for from the first dawn of consciousness he found himself the inhabitant of a palace, and closely attached to the person of the all-dreaded imperator, he studied to clothe his countenance day by day with the expression assumed by Tiberius himself, to penetrate his sentiments and echo, as it were, his very words. He was ever on the watch to anticipate the wishes of the tyrant, and, at a later time, the remark of the orator Passienus obtained a great success, that no man was ever a better servant, or a worse master.[1]

Macro obtains ascendency over him.

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Caius Cæsar, by the direction of his grandsire, had married in 786 Claudia, or Claudilla, the daughter of M. Junius Silanus; but this consort he had lost in the third year of their union.[2] At this latter period the end of Tiberius was visibly approaching. While his bodily strength was failing his mind continued unimpaired, and the power as well as the habit of dissimulation retained in its full vigour to the last. No consciousness of his own decay could extort from him any disclosures

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20.: Immanem animum subdola modestia tegens ... qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari habitu, non multum distantibus verbis. Unde mox scitum Passieni oratoris dictum percrebuit; neque meliorem unquam servum, neque deteriorem dominum fuisse.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20. Suetonius (*Calig.* 12.) gives her name more correctly, Junia Claudilla. Dion is inaccurate in placing the marriage in 788.: lviii. 25.

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of his actual views regarding the imperial inheritance. The ambitious and intriguing spirits at Rome trembled in uncertainty as to the future, and Tiberius kept his courtiers still attached to his side by refusing to indicate by word or gesture in what quarter they should look for his successor. He even let it be supposed, it would seem, that, dissatisfied with the prospect opened to him within the limits of the Cæsarean family, he meditated removing both the grandson and the grand-nephew by death.[1] Nevertheless the arts of the veteran dissembler could not blind the wariest of his observers. Since the overthrow of Sejanus, the bold and crafty Macro had wielded no small share of that minister's power, but he had never succeeded in gaining the personal favour and confidence of his master. Though at the head of the prætorians and of the police of the city, he had not been advanced to the more brilliant honours of the state. For these he must be content to look to the exigencies of a new reign, in which his talents and position might command still higher promotion; and it was now his object to divine the future emperor, and bind him to himself by some signal service. As shrewd in observation as he had proved himself bold in action, he fixed without hesitation upon Caius as the destined chief of the state. To secure an ascendency over him he employed the artifices of his wife Ennia, who insinuated herself into the affections of the young and idle voluptuary at a moment when his fancy was unoccupied, and soon acquired for her husband all the influence he

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 62.

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desired. *You leave the setting sun to court the rising*, muttered Tiberius, whom nothing could escape: but he gave no further token of displeasure, and the people accepted the words, which were speedily noised abroad, as an intimation that already in his own mind he had determined to transmit the empire to his grand-nephew. Another sentence, which was ascribed to him, seemed not less significant of this intention. Observing one day a cloud pass over the countenance of Caius, on his making a gesture of kindness towards the young Tiberius, for whom he seems to have felt some yearning of natural affection, he was reported to have said to him, *You will kill him, and another will kill you.*[1] The young dissembler had never been able to impose upon his uncle's practised experience. Tiberius had observed, not, it is said, without a malignant satisfaction, the gross sensuality and cruel or degrading sports in which he delighted, hoping, as was commonly surmised, that they would divert him from the aspirations of a premature ambition, or even, as some ventured to suggest, expecting that the crimes of the ensuing reign would extinguish the recollection of his own.[2]

Ideas regarding the disposal of the succession: expression of Tacitus.

Tacitus, as we have seen, assures us that Tiberius abandoned the imperial succession to fate; by which he evidently means that the emperor addressed no direct injunction or recommendation to the senate upon a subject on which, as he well

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45.: Occides tu hunc, et te alius. Dion, lviii. 23. Comp. Philo, l. c.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 11.; Dion, lviii. 23

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knew, he could exercise no real authority. In the phrase itself, the current language of the philosophy of the time, there is nothing remarkable; nor do I imagine that there is any allusion in it to the story upon this subject narrated by Josephus, which deserves, however, to be recorded in illustration of the character of the age. Tiberius, says the Jewish historian, on his return to Capreæ from his last visit to the continent, was seized with a consumptive attack, which at first did not threaten danger: but as the disorder gained ground he began to feel that his end was actually approaching; whereupon he commanded Euodus, the most confidential of his freedmen, to send his two grandchildren to him betimes the next morning, that he might address them before he died. After giving this direction, he prayed the Gods to make known to him by some token which of the two they destined to succeed him: for although his wish was to leave the empire to the young Tiberius, he felt that his own inclination ought to yield to the manifestations of the divine will. Accordingly he proposed to himself a sign by which that will might be discovered; and this was, that whichever of the two princes should first come into his presence, him he would regard as called to the empire. Having thus piously placed himself in the hands of the Gods, he proceeded, with a natural inconsistency, to control, if possible, their decrees, by desiring the tutor of Tiberius to make sure and bring his charge at the earliest hour possible. But this prince, spending some time over his morning meal, was actually

Anecdote told by Josephus.

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forestalled by Caius, much to the emperor's regret, who was moved to tears at the unhappy fortune of his own offspring, not only excluded by providence from the sovereign power, but exposed, as he well knew, to the direst risk of destruction. Commanding himself, however, with a great effort, he said to Caius, *My son, although Tiberius is nearer to myself than you are, yet both of my own choice, and in obedience to the Gods, into your hands I commit the empire of Rome.* To these solemn words he added, according to the same authority, an earnest entreaty that he would continue to love his unprotected kinsman, enforced by a warning of the perils of his own position, and of the pains which wait upon human ingratitude.[1]

Last days of Tiberius. A.D. 37. A.U. 790.

Of all our principal authorities for the history of this period Josephus undoubtedly stands the nearest in point of time; nevertheless, bred as he was in the ideas of a foreigner or a provincial, his information on matters of constitutional principle is often at fault; and the anecdote just related is of little historical value, except as showing the more indulgent way in which the character of Tiberius might be regarded beyond the precincts of Rome or Italy. This writer is not indeed correct in the place he assigns for the death of the emperor, a point on which a Roman historian could hardly have made a mistake. It was early in the year 790 that Tiberius, now in his seventy-eighth year, quitted for the last time his retreat in Capreæ, and moving slowly from villa to villa, arrived within seven miles of the city on the Appian Way. Again,

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 6. 9.

having taken one more view of its distant buildings, he turned his back finally upon them, terrified, so it was reported, by an evil omen, and retraced his languid steps along the coast of Campania.[1] At Astura he fell sick; but having a little recovered he proceeded onwards to Circeii. Here, anxious to avert suspicion of his illness, he not only presided at the exercises of the camp, but even cast javelins with his own hand at the beasts which were driven beneath his seat in the amphitheatre. By this exertion the old man both strained and overheated himself; yet though his symptoms grew worse, he insisted on continuing his progress as far as Misenum, where he possessed the voluptuous villa of Lucullus; nor would he allow any change to be made in his sensual and perhaps intemperate habits at table.[2] His courtiers and attendants looked on with awe and trepidation. Every one felt assured that the days of the tyrant were numbered; yet every one feared to pay his court too soon by a day or an hour to the expected heir of his fortunes. All eyes were turned upon Charicles, the emperor's confidential physician; and Caius himself, perhaps, was the first

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 72.: Ostento territus.

[2] Suet. l. c.: Nihil ex ordine quotidiano prætermitteret, se convivia quidem ac cæteras voluptates, partim intemperantia, partim dissimulatione. But Pliny, in the passage before cited (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 28.), while he allows the intemperance of Tiberius in his youth, expressly declares that his abstemiousness was strict if not austere (severus atque etiam sævus: the words are perhaps corrupt) in this respect in his later years. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 50.: Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus, quæsita interdum comitate quamvis manifestam defectionem tegebat.

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to urge him to contrive by some means to feel the pulse of the dying man, for Tiberius persisted to the last in disguising his actual condition, and thus ascertain how much life was yet left in him. Charicles, it seems, was about to quit the imperial circle for a few days: possibly his master had dismissed him on purpose to blind the eyes of the watchful observers around him. Rising from the table, and taking the hand of the emperor to kiss it, he managed to touch the wrist. Tiberius noticed the touch and immediately guessed its motive. He called for fresh dishes and more wine; nor would he consent to break up the festivities till a later hour than ordinary.[1] Even on rising he received one by one the salutations of all his guests, according to his wont, keeping all the while an erect posture, and addressing to each a word in reply. But Charicles had attained his object, and his science was not to be deceived. He assured Macro that the patient could not survive more than two days. Tiberius was the more anxious, it was said, to regain Capreæ, because he was offended at the neglect of the senate to expedite the condemnation of some criminals he had required it to sentence, and could not venture upon a stroke of authority except from his secure and inaccessible citadel. But whether or not this were so, his hopes and fears were all about to close, and Capreæ he was destined never again to visit. Unfavourable weather combined with the advance of his malady to retain him at Misenum; and whether

[1] Tac. l. c.: Instaurari epulas jubet, discumbitque ultra solitum.

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His death.

his dissolution was altogether natural, or hastened by foul means, as was commonly suspected, it was not perhaps delayed beyond the term assigned to it by the physician. The actual circumstances of the tyrant's end were variously reported. On the 17th of the calends of April, or the sixteenth of March, says Tacitus, he had fainted away, and it was imagined he had ceased to breathe. The courtiers rushed without delay in troops to congratulate Caius, who quitted the chamber to surround himself, as was supposed, with the ensigns of power, when suddenly it was reported that the emperor's voice and vision had returned, and he had called to his attendants for nourishment. The consternation was universal; the crowd hastily dispersed, and every man composed his countenance to a look of ignorance or anxiety. Caius himself was struck speechless in expectation of immediate punishment. But Macro was at his side, and Macro was resolute and prompt as ever. *Heap more bedclothes upon him*, he whispered, *and leave him*.[1] Tacitus insinuates without hesitation that he was stifled, and his account has been most commonly followed; he refers, however, to no authority.[2] On the other hand, a contemporary of the event seems to describe the old man's death as simply natural. Feeling himself sinking, said

[1] Tac. l. c.: Cæsar in silentium fixus a summa spe novissima exspectabat: Macro intrepidus, opprimi senem injectu multæ vestis jubet, discedique a limine.

[2] Thus Dion, lviii. 28.: δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὴ καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνασωθῇ, οὔτε ἐμφαγεῖν τι αἰτήσαντι αυτῷ, ὡς καὶ βλαβησομένῳ, ἔδωκε, καὶ ἱμάτια πολλὰ καὶ παχέα, ὡς καὶ θερμασίας τινὸς δεομένῳ, προσέβαλε· καὶ οὕτως ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτὸν, συναραμένου πρι αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Μάκρωνος.

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Seneca, Tiberius took off his ring, and held it for a little while, as if about to present it to some one as an instrument of authority; but soon replaced it on his finger, and lay for a time without motion: then suddenly he called for his attendants, and when no one answered, raised himself from his bed with failing strength, and immediately fell lifeless beside it.[1] This account was distorted by others into the denial of necessary sustenance, and actual death by exhaustion, while some did not scruple to affirm that Caius had caused the sick man to be poisoned.[2]

The character of Tiberius not mysterious.

Cæsar, the high-handed usurper, met an usurper's death, by open violence in the light of day. Augustus after fifty years of the mildest and most equitable rule the times admitted, sank at last by a slow and painless decay into the arms of those dearest to him, amidst the respectful sympathies of an admiring people. The end of Tiberius, whether consummated by treachery or not, was shrouded in gloom and obscurity; the chamber of mortality was agitated to the last by the intrigues and fears of the dying man and his survivors. The fellow countrymen of the detested tyrant seem to have

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 73.: Seneca eum scribit, intellecta defectione, &c. The elder Seneca, who is known to have written a history of his own times, died towards the end of Tiberius, at an advanced age. This must be the account of his son the philosopher; but there is no such passages in his existing works. Suetonius in another place (*Calig.* 12.) gives another account: Caius veneno Tiberium aggressus est, &c.

[2] Tacitus gives March 16. for the date of this event, Dion, March 26. Tiberius, born November, 712, was in the middle of his seventy-eighth year. Dion, l. c.: ἐβίω δὲ ἔπτα καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας, καὶ ἡμέρας ἑννέα.

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deemed it fitting that one whose life was to them an enigma should perish by a mysterious death. I have myself perferred to represent him as a man whose character was sufficiently transparent, the apparent inconsistencies in whose conduct, often exaggerated and misrepresented, may generally be explained by the nature of his position, and the political illusions with which he was required to encircle himself. It is the character of the age in which he was placed, an age of rapid though silent transition, rather than of the man himself, which invests him with an historical interest. This is the point to which it will be well to direct our attention, before letting the curtain drop upon the personage with whom the forms of the republic perished, and the despotism of the Cæsars finally dropped its mask.[1]

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Judgment of the Romans on the character of Tiberius.

The practice of delation, so rapidly developed under the rule of Tiberius, introduced a new principle into the government of his day, and marked it with features of its own. It is hardly possible to overrate the effects of this practice upon the general complexion of the Roman polity, nor is it easy to exaggerate the horror with which it came to be regarded. It was an attempt to re-

[1] Thus Ferguson concludes his history of the Roman republic with the death of Tiberius. Tacitus describes, according to his view, the different epochs in the character of Tiberius. *Ann.* vi. 51.: Morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque, quoad privatus, vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit: occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere: idem inter bona malaque mixtus, incolumi matre: intestabilis sævitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Sejanum dilexit timuitve: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam, remoto pudore et metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

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concile the despotism of the monarch with the forms of a republic; to strengthen the sovereign power by weakening its subjects; to govern the people by dividing them, by destroying their means of combination among themselves, by generating among them habits of mutual distrust and fear, and finally plunging them into a state of political imbecility. We have already seen how this system was in fact the product of peculiar circumstances rather than the creation of a deliberate will; nevertheless the chief of the state was made, not unnaturally, to bear the whole responsibility of it, and the disgust of the nobler spirits of Rome at the tyranny of spies and informers was turned against the prince himself, in whose interest at least, if not at whose instigation, their enormities were for the most part perpetrated. If we examine the authorities for the history of the reign we have been reviewing, we shall find that those who were nearest to the times themselves have generally treated Tiberius with the greatest indulgence. Velleius Paterculus indeed, and Valerius Maximus, his contemporaries and subjects, must be regarded as mere courtly panegyrists: but the adulation of the one, though it jars on ears accustomed to the dignified self-respect of the earlier Romans, is not more high-flown in language and sentiment than what our own writers have addressed to the Georges, and even the Charleses and Jameses, of the English monarchy; while that of the other is chiefly offensive from the connexion in which it stands with the lessons of virtue and patriotism which his book was specially designed

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to illustrate. The elder Seneca, the master of a school of rhetoric, to which science his writings are devoted, makes no mention of the emperor under whom he wrote; but his son, better known as the statesman and philosopher, though he was under the temptation of contrasting the austere and aged tyrant with the gay young prince to whom he was himself attached, speaks of him with considerable moderation, and ascribes the worst of his deeds to Sejanus and the delators rather than to his own evil disposition.[1] In the pages of Philo and Josephus, the government of Tiberius is represented as mild and equitable: it is not till we come to Suetonius and Tacitus, in the third generation, that his enormities are blazoned in the colours so painfully familiar to us. It will suffice here to remark that both these later writers belong to a period of strong reaction against the Cæsarean despotism, when the senate was permitted to raise its venerable head and assume a show at least of its old imperial prerogatives; when the secret police of Rome was abolished, delation firmly repressed, freedom of speech proclaimed by the voice of the emperor himself, and the birthright of the Roman citizen respectfully restored to him. There ensued a strong revulsion of feeling, not against monarchy, which had then become an accepted institution, but against the corruptions which had turned it into tyranny; and Tiberius, as the reputed founder of the system of delation, bore the odium of all the crimes of all the tyrants who had succeeded him. Tacitus admits that the *affairs of*

[1] Seneca, *Ep.* 21.; *de Benef.* iii. 26.; *Consol. ad Marc.* 15.

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Tiberius were misrepresented during his power by fear, and after his death by spite: yet we cannot doubt that Tacitus himself often yields to the bias of his detractors, while Suetonius is at best indifferent to the truth.[1] After all, a sober discretion must suspend its belief regarding many of the circumstances above recorded, and acknowledge that it is only through a treacherous and distorting haze that we have scanned the features of this ill-omened principate.

The reign of terror at Rome.

Nevertheless, the terror which prevailed in the last years of Tiberius, to whomsoever it is chiefly to be ascribed, exercised a baleful influence over society at Rome, and shows by effects which are still discoverable that it has been but little exaggerated. It has left permanent traces of itself in the manifest decline and almost total extinction of literature under its pressure. The Roman writers addressed only a small class in the capital; to be popularly known in the provinces, to be read generally throughout the Roman world, was a privilege reserved for few, and anticipated perhaps rarely by any. Even in the capital the poet and historian composed their works for a circle of a few thousand knights and senators, for the friends and families of their own few hundreds of acquaintances, whom they invited to encourage their efforts by attending at their recitations. The paralysis which benumbed the energies of the Roman nobi-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 1. "Tiberii Caiique, et Claudii, ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis ob metum falsæ, postquam occiderant *recentibus odiis* compositæ sunt. There seems reason to believe that the hostility to Tiberius's memory increased rather than diminished in the course of the succeeding century.

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lity at this crisis of terror and despair, extended naturally to the organs of their sentiments and opinions. Not history only and philosophy suffered an eclipse, but poetry also, which under Augustus had been the true expression of the national feelings, became mute when the feelings themselves could no longer be trusted with utterance. We have seen how Cremutius was subjected to persecution for pronouncing that Brutus and Cassius were the last of the Romans. A tragedian was accused, and if accused we may presume perhaps that he was condemned, for speaking evil of the king of men, Agamemnon; and various authors were assailed, and their writings sentenced to proscription, to whose recitations the last Princeps had himself listened with indulgence.[1] The poems which were tolerated were generally the most trifling and perhaps licentious in character.[2] The sly irony of the fable, a style of composition adopted by slaves, and imitated from the servile Orientals, seems not unsuitable to these perilous times. The name of Phædrus belongs in all probability to the Tiberian period, but it is curious that no later writer for four centuries should have cared to notice him.[3] Similar or worse has been

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 61. It will be remembered by scholars that Atrides is the invidious nickname often applied by the poets to the Roman tyrants. Comp. Juvenal, iv. 65.: Itur ad Atridem.

[2] Such seems to have been the character of the verses of Lentulus Gætulicus. Martial, *præf.* i.; Plin. *Ep.* v. 3.

[3] Phædrus is supposed to have been a freedman of Tiberius. Seneca exhorts Polybius, a freedman of Claudius, to divert his mind by writing fables a few years later; but even then he calls this kind of composition, Intentatum Romanis ingeniis opus. Senec. *Consol. ad Polyb.* 27.

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the fate of a more serious writer, Manilius, the author of an elaborate poem on Astronomy and its spurious sister Astrology, a theme of some danger under the circumstances of the times, but which he has treated with irreproachable discretion; it is owing perhaps to the disgrace under which the forbidden science fell that this innocent work lapsed into entire oblivion, and has escaped the mention of any writer of antiquity.[1]

No traces of it among the populace.

The deep gloom which settled upon the face of higher society at Rome was heightened by its contrast with the frivolous dissipation of the populace, who though deprived of the glitter of a brilliant court, and surrounded by signs of mourning and humiliation among their natural leaders, not the less abandoned themselves to the sensual enjoyments which alone they relished, and rejoiced in their utter indifference to political principles, to parties and to men. They clamoured with exultation over the body of the traitor; nevertheless, had the goddess Nursia, says the moralist, but favoured her Etruscan votary, had but the false intriguer circumvented the guileless old man, on the instant they would have been heard proclaiming Sejanus a Cæsar and an Augustus.[2] In the one class was abandonment of

[1] In this total absence of the testimonia veterum, the date of Manilius is ascertained from his allusions to the death of Varus (i. 897.), to Augustus as still living (i. 922.), and again to the island of Rhodes as the hospitium recturi Principis orbem. iv. 764.

[2] Juvenal, x. 74.: Idem populus, si Nursia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum.

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public life, shame, despair and suicide;—the intolerable evils of the time drove men not to religious consolations, but to a restless inquiry into the future, or a vain attempt to lull the sense of the present in philosophic apathy:—the other rushed headlong, hour by hour, to the baths, shows, and largesses, or shouted at the heels of the idol of the moment, or sighed and perhaps murmured at his loss, and speedily resigned itself to oblivion of the fitful emotion of the day.

General state of peace and security in the provinces.

We must be careful notwithstanding to observe that both the shame and the degradation were for the most part confined to the city and its vicinity, which were oppressed by the shadow of the imperial despot. Tiberius was content to sacrifice Rome to the exigencies of his position; but he ruled the provinces on the whole in a Roman spirit, and maintained the dignity of the empire for the most part intact from the centre to the frontiers. The stability of the system, however rotten and decayed at heart, might still be measured by the strength and solidity of its outworks. At no period did the bulwarks of the Roman power appear more secure and unassailable. The efforts of Drusus and his son to overpower the Germans on their own soil had been stupendous; they had wielded forces equal at least to those with which Cæsar had added Gaul to the empire, and yet had not permanently advanced the eagles in any direction. But, on the other hand, it was soon found that the Germans were only formidable under the pressure of an attack. When the assault relaxed, the power they had concentrated in resistance crumbled readily

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away. With the death of Arminius all combined hostility to Rome ceased among them. They never dared to retort in concert the invasions under which they had suffered. Meanwhile the arts and manners of the South advanced incessantly among them; their political dissentions were fostered by the enemy, and in the weakness caused by mutual jealousy they turned with awe and wonder to the image of the immense and undivided empire, the skirt of whose robe trailed majestically on their borders. At the same time the long respite from military exactions allowed the pursuits of ease and luxury to fructify within the limits of the provinces. Gaul was no longer drained from year to year by the forced requisitions of men and horses, of arms and stores, which had fed the exhausting campaigns of Germanicus. Her ancient cities decked themselves with splendid edifices, with schools and theatres, aqueducts and temples. The camps on the Rhine and Danube were gradually transformed into commercial stations, and became emporiums of traffic with the north of Europe, where the fur and amber of the Hercynian forests and the Baltic coast were exchanged for wine and oil or gold and silver, those instruments of luxury which nature was supposed, in mercy or in anger, to have denied to the German barbarians.[1] Such a state of

[1] Tac. *Germ.* 5.: Argentum et aurum propitii an irati Dî negaverint dubito. This well-known assertion, so remarkably inaccurate, as it has proved, in fact, was provoked perhaps by the failure of the first speculation in Nassau mines. See Tac. *Ann.* xi. 20.: Curtius Rufus . . . in agro Mattiaco recluserat specus quærendis venis argenti; unde tenuis fructus, nec in longum fuit.

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affairs allowed the emperor to persist in his favourite plan of leaving the provincial governors for years unchanged at their posts. Each succeeding proconsul was no longer in a fever of haste to aggrandize himself by the plunder or renown of a foray beyond the frontiers. The administration of the provinces became a matter of ordinary routine; it lost its principal charms in the eyes of the senators, who could at last with difficulty be induced to exchange the brilliant pleasures of the capital, with all its mortifications and perils, for the dull honours of a distant government. Nothing is more significant of the actual improvement in the condition of the subject than this fact, which is advanced by Tacitus as a proof of the decay of public spirit and the degeneracy of the age.[1]

Vigilance of Tiberius in guarding the frontiers.

Nor can I discover in general the justice of accusing Tiberius of neglecting the safety of his remote possessions, which seem, on the contrary, to have flourished securely in the armed peace of his august empire.[2] In Gaul the revolt of Sacrovir and his Belgian confederates was effectually suppressed: the outbreak of the Frisians, though at some cost of blood, seems to have been speedily quelled.[3] Nor have we any distinct confirmation of the assertion of Suetonius, that Tiberius suf-

Gaul and Germany.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 27.: Egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum, abnuere id munus. But see, above, chap. xliv. p. 184. The distrust, however, or indifference of Tiberius was more distinctly shown in his keeping some of his governors at home for years after nominally appointing them. Such were the cases of Ælius Lamia and Arruntius. Tac. l. c.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 41.: Armeniam a Parthis occupari, Mœsiam a Dacis Sarmatisque, Gallias a Germanis vastari neglexit.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 72.

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fered the province to be ravaged with impunity by the Germans, which, if true, can apply only to some transient violation of the frontiers. That disgrace indeed to this extent actually attended the Roman government seems not improbable, from circumstances which have transpired regarding the conduct of the commander in those parts. For many years the legions of the Upper Rhine were confided to a senator of high consideration; but he was said to have gained the devotion of both his own soldiers and those of the lower province by the popularity of his manners and the laxity of his discipline.[1] Such conduct proceeded, we may confidently affirm, either from culpable negligence or from criminal aspirations. Tiberius was doubtless alarmed. Lentulus Gætulicus, such was the officer's name, was denounced by a delator; but his marriage with the daughter of Sejanus seemed a surer ground of attack than a charge of incapacity or treason. Tiberius pretended to give ear to an accusation thus artfully framed, the senators were blinded, and Gætulicus was threatened with removal and disgrace. Undismayed, he addressed from his camp a letter to the emperor, urging that he had not sought connexion with the minister of any motion of his own, but at the suggestion of Tiberius himself; that if he had been deceived by the arts of the traitor, his fault was only the same as his master's: it was unjust that he should suffer for an error which had been in fact common to both. His loyalty, he protested, was unshaken, and so it would remain as long as he

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 30.: Effusæ clementiæ, modicus severitate.

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was himself trusted; but the arrival of a successor to his command he should regard as no other than a sentence of death, and to such he would refuse to bow. The emperor, he boldly added, might continue to rule the state, but he would retain the government of his own province. The rumour of so proud a defiance struck the citizens with astonishment; but Gætulicus kept his place, and the impunity which was thus accorded to a son-in-law of Sejanus engaged them to believe it. Tiberius, they whispered, knew well how deep was the general dissatisfaction with his rule; he was conscious also of the infirmities of age, and aware that his authority rested after all on opinion rather than on its own intrinsic force. He refrained from risking a collision.[1]

Mœsia.

Nor does the assertion of Tiberius's indifference seem to be better founded with regard to Mœsia. Tacitus steps frequently aside from his domestic narrative to record the affairs of this region and the exploits of the emperor's lieutenants; while Appian makes special mention of the conquest of Mœsia under Tiberius, and of the establishment of provincial government in this quarter by his hand.[2] Sabinus, Pandus, and Labeo seem to have held the command there successively during the first half of this principate, and these men at least were not allowed to indulge in indolence, for their exertions and victories are a theme to which the

[1] Tac. l. c.: Reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, extremam ætatem, magisque fama quam vi stare res suas. We shall see reason at a later period to believe that the command of Gætulicus was really fraught with danger to the imperial interests.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 66., iv. 5.; Appian, *Illyrica*, 30.

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historian repeatedly refers. At a later period, indeed, we shall read of an incursion of the Rhoxolani, a people of Sarmatia, during a season of commotion at Rome, and this is not improbably the occurrence which Suetonius had actually in view.[1] Mœsia, in the reign of the second Princeps, was one of the best appointed of the imperial provinces. Two legions were quartered in it, and a military road from the borders of Pannonia led along the bank of the Danube to the Euxine at Tomi, thus securing the communications of the presidiary cohorts through the whole length of the only exposed frontier. The north-eastern corner of the province, for the Romans did not care to occupy the pestilential marshes of the Dobrudscha, was also connected by a coast-road with Byzantium on the Thracian Bosphorus.[2]

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Armenia.

But the emptiness of these charges can be more clearly shown in the case of the dependent kingdom of Armenia, which, according to the same authority, Tiberius suffered to be seized by the Parthians, and wrested from the patronage of the empire. It appears, on the contrary, from the particular recital of Tacitus, that the bold occupation of this kingdom by Artabanus was immediately resented by the emperor with the energy of a younger man. Not only were the wild mountaineers of the Caucasus, the Iberians and Albanians, invited to descend upon the intruders; not only were the sons of Phraates released from their long detention at Rome, and directed to present

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 76.—A. U. 823. A. D. 70. Comp. Suet. l. c.

[2] Bergier, *Grands Chemins*, p. 509.

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themselves on their native soil, and claim the allegiance of their father's subjects; but a Roman general, L. Vitellius, a man of distinguished valour and experience, was deputed to lead the forces of Asia and Syria against the enemy; and while it was hoped that a vigorous demonstration would suffice to hurl him back from the territory in dispute, instructions were not withheld, it would appear, to push on if necessary, and smite the Parthians with the strong hand of the empire. But these combinations proved speedily successful. Artabanus, already detested by many of his most powerful subjects, was compelled to descend from his throne, and take refuge in the far wilds of Hyrcania; while Tiridates, the son of Phraates, was accepted in his room. The Roman army, which had crossed the Euphrates, returned victorious without striking a blow, though, by a subsequent revolution, Artabanus was not long afterwards restored, and admitted, upon giving the required hostages, to the friendship of his lordly rivals.[1]

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If Tiberius refrained from aggrandizing his empire by fresh conquests, he was not the less intent on consolidating the unwieldy mass by the gradual incorporation of the dependent kingdoms inclosed within its limits. The contests between two rival brothers, Cotys and Rhascuporis, in Thrace, gave him a pretext for placing the fairest part of that country under the control of a Roman officer, thus preparing the way for its ultimate annexation.[2] On the death of Archelaus, king of

Thrace, Cappadocia, and Syria.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 31—37.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 67.

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Cappadocia, in the year 770, his country was declared a Roman province, and subjected to the rule of an imperial procurator.[1] At the same period the frontier kingdom of Commagene was added to the dominions of the Republic under the government of a prætor.[2] Syria, the great stronghold of the Roman power in the East, was still skirted by several tributary kingdoms or ethnarchies, such as Chalcis, Emesa, Damascus, and Abilene; but the dependency of Judea, the wealthiest and proudest of all these vassal states, was wrested in the reign of Augustus from the dynasty to which it had been entrusted, and was still subjected by his successor to the control of the proconsul at Antioch.

Division of Palestine between the sons of Herod the Great.

Herod the Great, on his death-bed, had sent his seal, together with an ample present, to Augustus, in token of the entire dependence upon Rome in which he held his dominions. This act of vassalage procured him, perhaps, the ratification of the disposition he had made of his territories between Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philippus. To the first was allotted the kingdom of Judea, including Samaria and Idumea, but with the loss of the cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo, which were now annexed to the government of Syria. To the second fell the districts of Galilæa to the west, and Peræa to the east of the Jordan; while the Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Gaulonitis formed with Ituræa the tetrarchy of Philip, extending north-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42.; Dion, lvii. 17.; Suet. *Tib.* 28.; Strabo, xii. p. 534.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 56.

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ward to the desert borders of Damascus.[1] But the rival kinsmen were not satisfied with this division. Archelaus and Antipas repaired to Rome to plead against one another; but while they were urging their suits before the tribunal of the senate, the provisional government which the Romans had established in Judea was suddenly attacked on all sides by bodies of armed insurgents. Their leaders, however, were not men of rank or commanding influence, and the revolt was in no sense a national movement. It was speedily crushed by Varus, then proconsul of Syria, the same who ten years afterwards perished so miserably in Germany, and punished with the atrocious severity too commonly employed in similar cases.[2] Archelaus, confirmed in his sovereignty, continued to reign under these lamentable auspices in Judea. His subjects, still mindful of the sons of their beloved Mariamne, never regarded him with favour; and it has been mentioned how they complained to Augustus of his tyranny, and obtained his removal from the throne. He was finally sent into exile at Vienna in Gaul.[3]

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Disgrace and banishment of Archelaus.

The fall of Archelaus left the throne of Judea and Samaria without a direct claimant, and the emperor took the opportunity of attaching them to the Roman dominions.[4] This acquisition was placed under the general administration of the

Judea annexed to the Roman empire.

[1] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. § 4.

[2] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 5.; *Antiq.* xvii. 10.

[3] See above, ch. xxxvii. vol. iv. p. 314. Add to references there given. Comp. Strabo, xvi. 2. p. 765.

[4] Fischer (*Rœm. Zeit.* a. 759.) fixes the annexation of the province to the last half of this year. Comp. Dion, lv. 27.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1.

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proconsul of Syria, but governed more directly by an imperial procurator, who took up his abode at Cæsarea Philippi. Of the character of the new government we find no complaints even in the Jewish writers whose accounts of this period have been preserved to us. Both Augustus and his successor appear to have instructed their officers to observe the same respect for the peculiar habits and prejudices of the Jews which had reflected such lustre in their eyes upon the magnanimous Agrippa[1]: whatever may have been the ordinary severities of Roman domination, it was not till the arrival of Pontius Pilatus, about the middle of the reign of Tiberius, that any special cause of grievance was inflicted upon them. They complained that the new procurator commenced his career with a grave and wanton insult. He entered Jerusalem with standards flying, upon which, according to the usage of the time, the image of the emperor was displayed. The old religious feeling of the Jews against the representation of the human figure was roused to vehement indignation: they remonstrated with the procurator, nor would they listen to his excuse that the Romans had their customs as well as the Jews, and that the removal of the emperor's portrait from his ensigns by an officer of his own might be regarded as a crime against the imperial majesty. But if Tiberius was merely the creature of the delators in his own capital, in the provinces he retained his good sense and independence. Perhaps it was by a special authorization from him that

Government of Pontius Pilate.

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[1] Philo, *legat. ad Cai*, 37.

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Pilate consented to withdraw the obnoxious images.[1] Nevertheless, the Jews, under the guidance of their priests, continued to watch every act of his administration with inveterate jealousy, and when he ventured to apply a portion of the temple revenues to the construction of an aqueduct for the supply of their city, broke out into violence which provoked him to severe measures of repression. It is probable that mutual exasperation led to further riots, followed by sanguinary punishments: the government of Pilate was charged with cruelty and exaction, and at last the provincials addressed themselves to Vitellius, the governor of Syria.[2] Nor were their expectations disappointed. The proconsul required his procurator to quit the province, and submit himself to the pleasure of the offended emperor. Tiberius, indeed, was already dead before his arrival, but his successor attended without delay to the representations of his lieutenant, and Pilate was dismissed with ignominy to Vienna.[3] From the confidence with which Tiberius was appealed to on a matter of such remote concern, it would seem that the vigilance of his control was not generally relaxed even in the last moments of his life.

Recall and banishment of Pilate.

While Judea and Samaria were thus annexed to the Roman province, Galilee and the outlying regions of Peræa and Ituræa were still suffered to remain under their native rulers; and the domi-

Condition of Judea under the Roman government.

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 4. 1.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 3.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 5. 2.: καὶ Πιλάτος, δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους, εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, ταῖς Οὐϊτελλίου ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ὂν ἀντειπεῖν.

[3] Joseph. l. c.; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 7.

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nions of the great Herod became, as we shall see, once more united transiently under a single sceptre at no distant period. If, however, we consider the condition of the Jewish provincials under the Roman fasces, we shall find reason to believe that it was far from intolerable, and presented probably a change for the better from the tyranny of their own regal dynasties. Doubtless the national feeling, as far as it extended, was outraged in its cherished prepossessions by the substitution of a foreign for a native domination. The nobles and the priests, who preserved and reflected this sentiment, and who suffered in consideration under foreign sway, fostered the prejudices of the people to the utmost of their power, excited their discontent, fanned the flame of sedition, and then betrayed their unfortunate clients to the sword of relentless executioners. It may be admitted that the fiscal exactions of the procurator were more uniformly rigid than those of Herod, whose remission of a large portion of his people's taxes had gained him favour in the midst of his atrocities. Yet the amount of freedom and security enjoyed by the Jews under a Quirinius and a Pilate shows the general leniency of the Roman government at this period, and may induce us to believe that the yoke of the conquerors was on the whole a happy exchange for their subjects. The warm descriptions of provincial felicity by the Jewish authority Philo, which will be more particularly referred to hereafter, may be coloured to suit a purpose, and it may be impossible to produce any distinct facts to support this general conjecture. Yet

indications are not wanting in the writings of the Evangelists, which contain, abstracted from their religious significance, the most interesting record in existence of the social condition of antiquity, — for they alone of all our ancient documents are the productions of men of the people, — to show that the mass of the population of Judea was contented and comparatively happy under the rule of the Roman procurator.[1] Such is the impression I receive from the representations of common life in the Scriptures of the New Testament. The instances they allege of cruelty and injustice are drawn from the conduct of the Jews towards one another, rather than of the foreigner towards the native. The Scribe and the Pharisee are held up to odium or contempt, not the minister of police or the instrument of government. The Romans are regarded in them as the protectors of the people against their domestic tyrants. The duty of paying them tribute is urged as the proper price of the tranquillity they maintain; their fiscal officers are spoken of with forbearance; their soldiers are cited as examples of thoughtful toleration; the vice of the provincial ruler is indifference and unbelief rather than wanton violence; and the tribunal of the emperor himself is appealed to as the last resort of injured innocence. The freedom of movement enjoyed by the subjects of Rome, the permission so fully allowed them of passing from

[1] These writings refer in point of time to the middle of the reign of Tiberius. The dates variously assigned for the Crucifixion range from A.D. 27 to A.D. 33. Clinton fixes it at A.D. 29, A.U. 782, the sixteenth year of Tiberius.

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town to town, from frontier to frontier, of assembling together for social and religious objects, of flocking in crowds into the city or the wilderness, at the call of popular leaders or preachers, all indicate a state of personal liberty which might be envied throughout the continent of Europe at the present day.[1]

[1] It may be said perhaps that this indulgence was owing to the want of means of repression rather than of the desire to repress. The imperfections of the police of the empire, from the slenderness of its military force, were compensated by the severity of its punishments.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE FAMILY OF HEROD THE GREAT AT ROME. — BERENICE, AND HER CHILDREN HERODIAS AND AGRIPPA. — HERODIAS REPUDIATES HER HUSBAND PHILIPPUS, MARRIES HEROD ANTIPAS, AND RECEIVES A PRINCIPALITY IN PALESTINE. — AGRIPPA COURTS THE YOUNG CAIUS, AND IMBUES HIM WITH THE IDEAS OF ORIENTAL SOVEREIGNTY. — FALLS UNDER DISPLEASURE OF TIBERIUS, AND IS ARRESTED. — ON THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS HE IS RELEASED, AND TAKEN INTO FAVOUR BY CAIUS. — FIRST COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEW PRINCIPATE. — LIBERALITY OF CAIUS. — HIS SUBSERVIENCE TO THE SENATE. — ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE THE COMITIA. — BECOMES CONSUL, JULY, 790. — HIS INDUSTRY IN ADMINISTRATION. — MAGNIFICENCE OF HIS SHOWS. — HE FALLS INTO EXCESSIVE DISSIPATION. — HIS DANGEROUS ILLNESS. — DESPAIR OF THE CITIZENS AND PROVINCIALS. — ON HIS RECOVERY HIS HEAD TURNED BY FLATTERY. — PUTS TO DEATH THE YOUNG TIBERIUS, MACRO AND ENNIA, AND SILANUS. — HIS EXTRAVAGANCES, NECESSITIES, AND CRUELTY. — BELIEVES HIMSELF A GOD, AND REQUIRES HIS SUBJECTS TO WORSHIP HIM. — INDIFFERENCE OF THE ROMANS AND GREEKS. — RESISTANCE OF THE JEWS. — DISTURBANCES AT ALEXANDRIA. — AGRIPPA GOES TO PALESTINE: INTRIGUES AGAINST ANTIPAS AND HERODIAS: OBTAINS THEIR BANISHMENT, AND SUCCEEDS TO THEIR DOMINIONS. — CAIUS ORDERS HIS STATUE TO BE SET UP IN THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUES, AND IN THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM. — MISSION OF PHILO THE JEW, AND INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR. (A. D. 37—40. A. U. 790—793.)

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THE son of Philip, king of Macedon, could find among the free citizens of the Grecian republics no youth of equal rank to compete with him in the games of Olympia, and the heir of an Augustus or Tiberius might already disdain the companion-

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educated at Rome.

ship of the children of Roman knights and senators. But the capital of the world was now frequented by the scions of many royal families. The children of dependent sovereigns, invited to receive a Roman education, were retained there as pledges for their parents' fidelity; the pretenders to disputed thrones were encouraged to lay their claims before the emperor in person, and allowed to wait year after year for his final determination. A distinguished society of the purple-born was thus collected together in the centre of republican equality, objects of remark and interest to those around them, to whom they communicated the ideas in which they had themselves been bred quite as fast as they imbibed the notions of their conquerors.

The awe with which these illustrious strangers might at first regard the institutions of their mighty mistress would naturally abate upon closer acquaintance with them. They found the Romans profoundly dissatisfied with the noble polity of their ancestors, discarding one by one the guarantees of their ancient freedom, and abandoning themselves to an ignorant admiration of the hollow splendour of Oriental despotism. What remained of the equal laws to which the vital forces of the conquering republic had been ascribed, appeared to their closer examination a mere shadow and pretence. Unable to appreciate the real energy which still moved under these antiquated forms, and the influence his old traditions still practically exerted upon the Roman citizen, they learnt to look with complacent disdain upon the names of the senate and people. The Roman nobles, on the other hand,

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notwithstanding the public and official contumely with which they treated the most illustrious of their subjects, did not fail to admire in their hearts, with a blind reverence, the social prescriptions of eastern civilization, and were not slow to acquire, under the tuition of these gallant kings and princes, a glowing interest in the forms of Oriental monarchy.[1]

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In this circle of distinguished foreigners the dynasties of Thrace and Cappadocia, of Egypt, Syria and Armenia, were all represented. But none among them were at this time so conspicuous as the members of the family of Herod the Judean, some of whom were domiciled for many years at Rome, and admitted to the most intimate acquaintance with the princes of the Cæsarean house. The imperial city was in fact at this period the common asylum of many unfortunate princes who would in their own country have been exposed to certain destruction from the horrid precautions of dynastic jealousy. I have not paused to enumerate precisely the members of his own family whom the tyrant of Judea had successively put to death. For many years his own children had been screened from his fury by the shadow of the imperial palace: when at last they had been restored, at his instance, to their native soil, they had speedily been led to the scaffold before the eyes of their indignant countrymen. But Augustus had again interfered to save the monster's grandchildren. Herodes, the son of Aristobulus, to whom the name of Agrippa had

Herod Agrippa educated at Rome.

[1] Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 12.: Modo reges atque tetrarchas, Omnia magna loquens.

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His mother Berenice and sister Herodias.

been given in compliment to the emperor's friend and minister, had been removed to Rome soon after his father's death, and with him his mother Berenice, and his elder sister Herodias.[1] These children united the blood of the rivals Salome and Mariamne: their nearest kinsmen had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the dominions which should have descended to their father Aristobulus and his brother Alexander had been divided among their uncles, the offspring of their grandfather's later marriages. At Rome, however, they had been received with kindness. Antonia, the daughter of the triumvir, might remember the intimacy which had subsisted between her father and Herod, and she introduced the grandchildren of the king of Judea to the society of her own offspring by Drusus.[2] Herod Agrippa, born in the year 743, was but one year older than Claudius, the youngest of her children, with whom he was bred up in the closest intimacy. Both Herod and his sister inherited the ambitious spirit of their house. Upon the disgrace of Archelaus, and the vacancy of the throne of Judea, they might hope, through their interest with the rulers of the empire, to recover that portion of their ancestral inheritance. Notwithstanding, however, their intrigues and aspirations, the imperial government still retained its new acquisition, and showed no disposition to relinquish it. All their views were now covertly directed to saving some inferior province or prin-

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 6. 3.: *τὸν Ἀγρίππαν . . . . θαύματος ἀξιώτατον γεγενημένον, ὃς ἐκ πάνυ ἰδιώτου, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν τῶν εἰδότων αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἠυξήθη δυνάμεως.* xviii. 7. 1.: *Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀγρίππας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος.*

[2] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. 1.

cipality from the wreck of their grandsire's sovereignty. But the schemes of the sister were thwarted by the indolence of her husband Philippus, while the golden hopes still cherished by the brother could only be revealed in the royal magnificence he displayed in a private station. The liberality with which he courted the chiefs of Rome, and led the career of prodigality among them, soon exhausted his resources and plunged him into desperate embarrassments. Nor could he retrieve his affairs by flattery of the emperor, for Tiberius, after the death of Drusus, refused to see any of the young prince's companions, whose presence would have renewed his sorrow.

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Agrippa attaches himself to Caius Cæsar.

Philippus, the despised husband of Herodias, was a son of Herod the Great by a second Mariamne, who had easily resigned himself to the obscure privacy which, on account, perhaps, of his acknowledged imbecility of character, had been assigned him on the division of his father's fortunes. The union of an uncle and a niece was abhorrent to Roman notions, and these, we may suppose, were still more offended when Herodias, impatient at the restraint imposed upon her by a consort she disdained, and solicited at the same time in marriage by another uncle, Antipas, presumed to repudiate Philippus by her own act, and unite herself with his half-brother.[1] Nevertheless, the favour of the imperial family now smoothed the way before her. She returned with her new husband to Samaria, the province which had been erected into

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 6. 4.: ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσαντα τῶν πατρίων.

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a sovereignty in his favour, and obtained a subordinate appointment for her brother as governor of the city of Tiberias. But Agrippa did not long remain satisfied with this inferior position. The compassion of friends and kinsmen furnished him with funds for recommencing his career of politic extravagance at Rome, to which spot, in the decline of the reigning emperor, he once more betook himself.[1] He threw himself with renewed fervour into the pleasures and dissipations of his imperial patrons, drew off gradually from his early associate, the stupid and neglected Claudius, in whose prospects there was little to encourage him, and having to choose for an ally between the grandson and the grand-nephew of Tiberius, shrewdly attached himself to the latter.[2] Agrippa was twice the age of the stripling Caius: intelligent and active, and well versed in men and affairs, he soon acquired unbounded ascendency over the young prince, now trembling in the uncertainty of his own fortunes, and oscillating between the brightest hopes of power and the direst apprehensions. To Caius such a friend and mentor as the Jewish chief was invaluable. With Agrippa he passed the hours he could steal from the exacting jealousy of his uncle; from him he learnt the customs of the East and the simple machinery of Asiatic despotism, and imbibed a contemptuous disgust at the empty forms

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. 3.: ᾤχετο επ' Αλεξανδρειας πλέων· ἔνθα Αλεξάνδρου δεῖται τοῦ Αλαβάρχου μυριάδας εἴκοσι δάνεια αὐτῷ δοῦναι. In this and other enterprises Agrippa was assisted by the good services of his wife Cyprus, the daughter of Phasael, a brother of Herod the Great.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. 4.

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of the Republic, which served only, as he might in his blind inexperience imagine, to impede the march of government, while they contributed nothing to its security. He saw the loathed and abject Tiberius cowering in terror before a senate more abject in its terrors than himself, hiding his person from the sight of his subjects, feeling his way before every step, and effecting every end by intrigue and circumvention; while the petty lord of a Syrian plain or watercourse was every inch a king; while in the little town of Samaria, as he heard, the tetrarch had only to speak the word, and be obeyed without hindrance or remonstrance.

He inflames his imagination with the description of the splendour of Jerusalem,

But it was not in the simplicity of their despotic authority only that the sovereigns of the East so far transcended, he was assured, the princes and imperators of the rival hemisphere. Their wealth was more abundant, for all the possessions of their subjects were held only in dependence upon them; their splendour was more dazzling, for thirty generations of autocrats had striven to excel one another in the arts of magnificence and display. The capitals of the Oriental monarchs far exceeded in beauty and convenience the mass of dark and smoky cabins, in which the conquerors of the world were still doomed to burrow. But of all the cities of the East none equalled Jerusalem in splendour.[1] The great Herod had adorned it with buildings, the

[1] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 14.) calls Jerusalem, longe clarissima urbium Orientis, non Judææ modo; referring, it may be supposed, to its external splendour rather than to its historic fame. Although this writer may be suspected of a wish to flatter his patrons Vespasian and Titus, its conquerors, his glowing language is sufficiently borne out by Josephus, Strabo, and Tacitus.

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magnificence of which outshone anything that could yet be seen at Rome. His theatres and gymnasiums, his forums and colonnades, were of the costliest materials and the noblest proportions. The precincts of the Temple, which he rebuilt upon the holiest of Jewish sites, and enlarged with an outer court of much greater dimensions, might have contained all the fanes of Rome together. For fifty years marble had been piled upon marble in constructing it.[1] It occupied the whole summit of the hill of Moriah, next to Zion the most prominent quarter of the city, and rising upon enormous substructions from the deep valleys beneath, seemed like one immense citadel, the Capitol of the Jewish nation.[2] On the rival summit of Mount Zion, the highest elevation in Jerusalem, was planted the royal residence; no modest mansion for the most eminent of Roman senators, but a palace worthy of the name, an abode befitting an Oriental potentate, erected not by the contributions of the populace, but by confiscation of the estates of the great and powerful of the land. Surrounded with lofty walls and towers, springing, like the Temple, from the depths of the gorges beneath, containing vast halls and ample corridors, its courts filled with trees and grass-plots, with reservoirs, fountains, and running streams, it was a palace, a villa, and a fortress all in one.[3] Zion and Moriah faced each other across

[1] Josephus dates the commencement of the third temple from the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, A.U. 734, B.C. 20, and it was not yet finally completed. Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xv. 11. 1., xx. 9. 7.

[2] Strabo, xvi. 2. p. 763.; Tac. *Hist.* v. 12.: Templum in modum arcis. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 5., vi. 6.

[3] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 4.

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the deep and narrow trench of the Tyropœon, and the temple and palace were connected by a bridge or causeway, across which the sovereign marched above the heads of his subjects, as the sun passes in the heavens from cloud to cloud. If the kings of Judea had abstained as yet from claiming the title of divinity, from regard to the fantastic scruples of their people, such at least was the honour to which the Eastern potentates might generally pretend, and such, should he ever be restored to authority in his native land, Agrippa himself already meditated to assume. The slaves of Asia acknowledged their sovereigns as the sole fountains of life and property; they regarded them as above the law or beside the law; no privileged ranks and classes of men, no traditions and prescriptions of accustomed usage, stood between them and their arbitrary caprices; uncles and nieces, brothers and sisters, sons and mothers might marry at their will[1]: to the multitude they held in fact the place of Gods upon earth; to deny them the title might seem mere senseless prudery.

and the magnificence of its sovereigns.

Such was the sovereignty of which Agrippa talked, and such, when the associates conversed together on the future succession to the principate of Tiberius, was the sovereignty to which the young aspirant was encouraged to look. We shall trace

Influence of these Oriental ideas.

[1] The steadfast abhorrence of the Romans for these irregularities is one of the finest traits in their character. Comp. Lucan, *Phars.* viii. 397.:

Num barbara nobis
Est ignota Venus .... Epulis vesana meroque
Regia non ullos exceptos legibus horret
Concubitus ....

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throughout the brief career of Caius, the first despot or sovereign prince of Rome, the influence of the ideas which his friend thus opened to him. We are arrived at a period when the personal character of their ruler has come to exercise a decisive influence on the sentiments no less than on the welfare of the Roman people, and through them of the world at large. It becomes the more important therefore to note the conditions under which that character was formed. Since the overthrow of the renegade Antonius, Rome had enjoyed a respite from the invasion of Asiatic principles and notions. Augustus had set up bulwarks against them which Tiberius had not failed to respect: it remained for the puerile selfishness of Caius, under tuition of the wily foreigner, to introduce into the city an element of disunion more fatal to her polity and manners than the arms of a triumvir or the edicts of an imperator. The prostitution of personal dignity by self-display in the theatre and circus; the assumption of the divine character, to the utter destruction of all remaining sense of religion; excessive extravagance in shows and buildings; indulgence of self and indulgence of the populace, together with savage oppression of the nobler classes; unstinted gratification of brutal ferocity; — all these are attributes of Oriental sovereignty, which Caius was first of the Roman emperors to exercise, but in which some of his successors rioted, if possible, even more furiously than himself.

Caius unsound both

Caius, now in the middle of his twenty-fifth year, was by nature more impressible than was usual

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in mind and body.

with his hard and prosaic countrymen.[1] The poetical and rhetorical exercises to which he had been directed, without the compensating influence of severer training, which had been unkindly withheld from him, had imparted perhaps a certain flaccidity to his character, confirmed by the enervating voluptuousness in which he had been steeped from his cradle. His constitution was weakly. In childhood he had been subject to fits, and though he outgrew this tendency, and learnt to bear fatigue of body, he was not unfrequently seized with sudden faintings. Early indulgence in every caprice, and premature dissipation, had strained his nerves and brain, till at last a temperament naturally excitable, and harassed by constant fever, seemed always to tremble on the verge of delirium. It was said of him, at least in his later years, that he never slept for more than three hours together. Through the weary darkness of the night he would toss in restless agitation on his bed, or pace with hurried and unequal strides the long resounding corridors, shouting impatiently for the dawn. His dreams were wild and terrible, and in his waking visions his mind seemed ever on the stretch with the vastness of its shadowy images, in which he fancied he beheld the great Spirit of the Ocean, and engaged in converse with him. The might and majesty of the Cæsarean empire, as of a Titan that defied the Gods, inflamed his perturbed imagination, his conceptions expanded like the welling visions of a

[1] Dion notes that Caius at the moment of Tiberius's death wanted five months and four days to complete his twenty-fifth year. lix. 6.

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dream, and his grasp of power was a fitful struggle to realize a sick man's nightmare.[1]

A.D. 37. A.U. 790. Agrippa arrested by Tiberius, and released on the accession of Caius.

While the germs of this unhappy temperament, so pitiable in a private man, so fearful in a ruler, were still undeveloped in his youthful frame, deep must have been the charm to Caius of his conversations with Agrippa, which revealed to him glimpses of a yet unknown world of splendour and enjoyment. But they were dangerous, as indeed every step, word, and look in his position was fraught with danger. It happened that the friends were one day taking the air together in a carriage, when the Judean took occasion to express his hope that no long time would elapse before the realization of their cherished wishes; that the sceptre would soon drop from the grasp of the aged emperor, and be placed in the hands of his nephew. But the charioteer listened as he drove, and reported the conversation to Tiberius. Agrippa was suddenly arrested and placed in confinement, where he remained, unheard and untried, for the six months which intervened before the emperor's final illness. Caius trembled at this disgrace, the prelude, as he might daily expect, to his own, and redoubled the servile compliances with which he paid court to the tyrant. Antonia, whose influence was still in the ascendant, averted the danger from her grandson, and succeeded in softening in some degree the rigour of Agrippa's

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 50.: Valetudo ei neque corporis neque animi constitit. Puer comitiali morbo vexatus, &c.: mentis valetudinem et ipse senserat .... incitabatur insomnia maxime; neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat, &c.

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captivity.[1] Tiberius was getting visibly weaker. The ministers of the imperial tyranny were on the watch, and at every symptom of his end approaching made some relaxation in their treatment of the prisoners, who at his death might suddenly be restored to liberty and power. The friends of Agrippa were not, it seems, prevented from visiting him, and some there were who were not afraid of doing so. One day a freedman entered his chamber with an air of mystery, and whispered in his ear in the Jewish language, *the Lion is dead.*[2] It seems that the premature report of the emperor's death had reached him. The captive understood his meaning, and cried aloud with joy. When the centurion who guarded him was admitted to a knowledge of the secret, he urged his prisoner to take a seat at his own table, and celebrate with festivity the event from which they both anticipated his speedy deliverance. But suddenly the news arrived of the emperor's unlooked-for recovery. He had quitted his residence, it was added; he had summoned his attendants; he was already on his way to Rome. Dire was the consternation in the prison, as at the same moment in the palace. The pleasant party was rudely broken up. Trembling for the consequences of his imprudence, the centurion sought to compensate by redoubled violence for the indulgence he had shown his prisoner. He loaded Agrippa with chains, and threatened him loudly with death.

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[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7, 8.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. 10.: *συννεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑβραίων, τέθνηκεν ὁ λέων, φησίν.*

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The confirmation of the first report came opportunely to restore his equanimity, and to allow Agrippa to profit by the order which soon arrived from Caius for his release.

On the death of Tiberius, the people express their indignation against him.

But the alarm which had been excited by the premature announcement of the tyrant's decease was not universally allayed by this confirmation of the event. Too many still feared that it was only a device to discover the real sentiments of the people, and subject to a bloody punishment all who should venture to give utterance to the general satisfaction. Some condemned victims were awaiting in prison the expiration of the ten days' respite, which the law allowed them; and it was believed, we are assured, such was the horror of the times, that when the death of Tiberius was announced, the gaolers, either refusing to credit it, or in default of authority for refraining, consigned those whose term had arrived, in spite of their cries and obtestations, to the hands of the executioner.[1] There is reason, indeed, to believe that this atrocity, a parallel to which has actually occurred in very recent times, was merely a popular invention: but the report served to exasperate still more the fury of the multitude, which, on the assurance that the lion was really dead, burst out into wild exclamations of disgust and hatred. "*Tiberius to the Tiber*, they cried, and called, it is said, for the

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 75. This story, which is given as a popular rumour, is opposed to the express declaration of Dion (lviii. 27.), that, on the first occurrence of Tiberius's illness, the condemned were respited to await the event, and is not entitled to much credit. The parallel case alluded to is that of the last victims of Robespierre.

hook and ropes to drag the body to the Gemoniæ and to the river, that the goddess Earth and the spirits of the buried might not receive it into their holy keeping.[1] But this ebullition of feeling, if it has been truly represented to us, was not lasting: a calmer expression of popular disapprobation, which demanded that the remains should be hastily consumed at a distance, and not brought to Rome at all, was also speedily overruled; and it was left to the senate to decide, with the consent of the new chief of the state, how the body of the late emperor should be disposed of, and how his memory should be treated.[2]

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The will of Tiberius is annulled by the senate.

If the populace of the city really entertained any vehement dislike of their late ruler, it was not for his cruelty, by which they had been little affected, but for the ungenial austerity of his government, at which they had long repined, and which they might expect to give way, under the sway of a gay and gallant youth, to an era of festivities and amusements. The senate, which had far more reason to hate the patron of Sejanus and the delators, comported itself at least with decent gravity. The announcement of the emperor's actual decease was brought to the Fathers by Macro, in a letter from Caius. He was commis-

[1] Suet. l. c.: Ut pars, Tiberium in Tiberim, clamitarent: pars Terram matrem, Deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam, nisi inter impios, darent.

[2] The people demanded that the body should be consumed in the amphitheatre at Atella, the public place nighest at hand, instead of being brought to Rome; also that it should be *semiustulatum*, scorched and not burnt decently to ashes, as was usual with the cheap and hurried obsequies of slaves and criminals.

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sioned to present to them at the same time the testament of Tiberius: but while he desired in his new master's name that all the posthumous honours formerly assigned to Augustus, the public funeral, the confirmation of his acts, and the deification, should now be decreed to his successor, he declared that the dying man's disposition of his patrimony was the act of an incapable dotard, and required that it should be solemnly annulled. The legal validity of this instrument, as we have seen, could extend only to the private property of the testator; but all felt how strong a claim it would constitute to a division of political sovereignty; and Macro might, perhaps, actually represent to the senators how incongruous it was to give a presumptive right to the empire to a stripling like the young Tiberius, who had not yet reached the age which entitled him even to a seat in their assembly.[1] The late emperor's wish to make his grandson and grand-nephew joint-heirs of all the property or power he might be able to bequeath was too generally known, perhaps, to admit of the suppression of his testament; but Macro was assured of the favour in which the child of Germanicus was held by the people, and he counted on certain means of overcoming whatever reluctance the Fathers might have to cancel it.[2] The rush, indeed, of the populace into the Curia

[1] The idea that the two princes were left co-heirs of the empire was strongly impressed upon the minds of all our Greek authorities. See Dion, lix. 1.; Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 4. Josephus says that Tiberius recommended his grandson to Caius as his associate in power.

[2] Dion, lix. 1.

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decided and hastened their resolution. The will was set aside; a public funeral was appointed; but the consideration of further honours for the deceased was postponed to a decree by which all the functions and dignities of empire were at once conferred upon Caius.[1]

Caius conducts the obsequies of Tiberius.

Full of anxiety and timidity at the fortunes which were about to open upon him, the young emperor placed himself at the head of the mourning procession which conducted the remains of Tiberius from Misenum to Rome. The people streamed forth from the towns on the way and from the city itself to meet him, as the leader of a triumphal rather than of a funeral pageant. Along the roadside altars were decked for sacrifice, and steamed with incense; torches blazed and flowers were strewn in profusion before him. Every joy and blessing was invoked upon his head, and voices were heard everywhere in the crowd addressing him with the most endearing appellations.[2] In the uni-

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 14. This biography is headed in the editions of Suetonius with the name of Caligula, and I refer to it under that title: but it should be remarked that Suetonius in his text always calls this prince Caius or Caius Cæsar, and such is the appellation given him uniformly by Tacitus, Seneca, and Pliny, as well as the Greek writers generally. I need not say that such is also his designation on medals. Aurelius Victor, in his trifling abridgment of history, is perhaps the first writer who gives him the name of Caligula. This, as has been mentioned, was a mere nickname of the camp, and though it continued current there, the emperor himself always resented it: Nec impune cessit primipilario quod Caligulam dixerat. Senec. *de Const. Sap.* 18. The later acceptance of the name is due perhaps to the careless epitomists, who wished to save themselves trouble in distinguishing between the various Cæsars who bore the prænomen of Caius.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 13.: Super fausta omina sidus, et pullum, et pupum et alumnum appellantes.

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versal delight and joyous anticipation of good days to come, the crimes and injuries of the dead tyrant were forgotten, and to the execution of the decree in his honour no resistance was offered. Though basking in the sunshine of popular favour, the behaviour of the young aspirant, for he could hardly yet feel secure of his position, was measured and discreet. As chief mourner at the imperial obsequies, he pronounced a funeral oration, the tone of which was sober and moderate, respectful alike to the deceased and to his people, nor unaccompanied with a decent tribute of tears. From the merits of Tiberius he turned with warmer enthusiasm to the exploits of Augustus and Germanicus, and traced to those sainted heroes of his line his own personal claims to the regard of the Roman people. From the Forum the body was carried with the proper ceremonies to the Campus Martius for cremation, and the ashes finally enshrined in the Cæsarean mausoleum.[1] At the close of these solemnities, Caius presented himself in the Senate-house, and addressed the Fathers and others there assembled in a speech full of flattery and submissiveness. He declared himself the child or ward of the senators, prepared to share with them the toils and pleasures of office, and to guide all his actions according to their wise direction.[2] Nor did he fail to assume a tone of regret at being unable to accomplish the late emperor's wishes with regard to his infant grandson. *At his tender years*, he said, *he stands yet in need of tutors*,

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 15.; Dion, lviii. 28., lix. 3.
[2] Dion, lix. 6.

teachers, and guardians; but I will be more than tutor, teacher, or guardian to him; I will be his father, and he shall be to me as a son.[1] At the same time he scrupulously executed the will of Tiberius in every other particular. It comprised liberal donations to the prætorians and to the citizens generally: the former he doubled, the latter he increased by the sum which had been promised but never paid them, on his own assumption of the toga, together with the interest accruing. Nor were the police of the city, or the legions beyond the bounds of Italy forgotten in this prudent liberality, which was still further enhanced by the payment of the bequests of Livia, which her parsimonious son had neglected to carry into effect.[2] For this and still greater profusion ample provision was found in the treasures accumulated by Tiberius, the sum of which was differently stated by the authorities of the day, but which, on the estimate of Suetonius, which is not the highest, may have amounted to twenty-one millions of our money.[3]

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Liberal conduct of the new emperor.

Nor were the liberal acts of the new emperor confined to this promiscuous munificence in gifts and largesses. He issued a general pardon to the occupants of the imperial prisons, and recalled the banished from their exile. The informations and pretended evidence relating to the treasonable

[1] Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 4.: ἐγὼ δὲ, ἔφη, παιδαγωγοὺς καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους ὑπερβαλὼν, ἐμαυτὸν ἤδη γράφω πατέρα, υἱον δὲ ἐκεῖνον.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 51.; *Calig.* 16.; Dion, lix. 2.

[3] Suet. *Calig.* 37.: Totum illud Tiberii Cæsaris vicies ac septies millies sestertium. Sestertia 27 × 100,000 = 2,700,000 = at 8*l.* the sestertium, 21,600,000*l.*

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practices which had been imputed to his mother and brothers, he burnt publicly in the Forum, declaring at the same time that he had abstained from perusing them, and had not acquainted himself even with the names of the delators.[1] When a paper was presented to him which purported to divulge an intrigue against him, he rejected it with the exclamation that he had given cause of offence to no man.[2] He proscribed the most infamous ministers of vice, the creatures of the worst of the nobles, and as it was reported of Tiberius himself, expelling them indignantly from the city, and was with difficulty dissuaded from throwing them into the sea. The writings of Labienus, Cremutius, and Cassius Severus, which the senate had suppressed, were at his instance restored to circulation: it was for the interest, he declared, of every good prince that history should be written and read. He published the accounts of the state, after the example of Augustus, an example which Tiberius from indolence or reserve had neglected to follow. As regarded the judicial functions of the emperor, the behaviour of Caius was eminently popular, in abolishing the appeal to himself from the tribunal of the superior magistrates. Into the means and character of the senators he made no invidious inquisition; they had suffered enough under the Tiberian persecutions: but he revised strictly, though with no undue severity, the roll of the equestrian order, enriching it with the addition of

[1] Dion, lix. 6.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 15.: Contendens, nihil sibi admissum cur cuiquam invisus esset.

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many new members from the wealthiest classes of Italy and the provinces; and he added a fifth decuria to the bench of judices, which was overburdened with its duties. Under his auspices many provincial communities received the gift of Roman citizenship.[1] The heir of the Drusi attempted, as Suetonius expresses it, to revive the Comitia for the election of magistrates; but his magnanimous policy was defeated by the indifference of the nobles to public office, for the candidates, it seems, were seldom more numerous than the places, or if a greater number at any time offered, they contrived to come to a private arrangement among themselves.[2] The centuries convened for the election found they had nothing to do, but go through the empty forms and disperse. After two years' trial, Caius resumed the plan of direct nomination recommended to him by his predecessors, and as far as the real substance went, the usage of popular election was finally suppressed. Such, together with the remission of the percentage on sales in Italy, an impost which, though trifling in its amount, seemed to trench on the cherished immunity of the conquering race, and many acts of liberality to individuals, were the beneficent measures which ushered in the reign of the new

[1] See Agrippa's speech in Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* c. 36.: φίλων ἐνίων πατρίδας ὅλης τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἠξίωσας πολιτείας.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 16.: Tentavit et comitiorum more revocato suffragia populo reddere. Dion expresses no doubt a common and probably a just feeling of the injudiciousness of this attempted concession of political rights to a people who seemed incapable of using them discreetly: τοὺς δ' ἐμφρονας ἐλυπήσατο, λογισαμένους ὅτι κἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὖθις γένωνται . . . . πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συμβήσεται. lix. 9. Comp. Vell. ii. 124., cited above.

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emperor.[1] His piety towards his own relations was not less conspicuous, nor did it serve less to recommend him to the regard of the citizens. Immediately after his first appearance in the senate, he hastened, amidst the prayers and vows of the people—for the weather was tempestuous—to seek in person the ashes of his mother and brother in their desolate islands. Having collected these august remains, and carefully inurned them, he conveyed them in his own arms to Rome, ascending the river from Ostia with funereal pomp, and laid them in the imperial mausoleum, appointing at the same time an annual service in memory of the deceased. The name of the month September he changed to Germanicus, an alteration which was not destined to survive him, and conferred upon Antonia, through a decree of the senate, all the distinctions which the piety of Tiberius had before assigned to Livia.[2] Claudius, who had hitherto been left in the obscurity of the equestrian rank, he invited to assume the consulship in conjunction with himself, and saluted the young Tiberius, on the day of his claiming the toga, with the title of Prince of the Roman Youth. His natural sensibility prompted him, further, to demand honours for his three sisters, a thing unheard of under the Roman commonwealth. It was ordained that the sacramental

[1] These acts, which all belong to an early period in this reign, have been here brought together in one view, though some of them may date, perhaps, in its second year. The revival of the Comitia was made in 791: the first consulship of Caius was assumed without any pretence of election.

[2] Dion, lix. 3.

oath of the citizens to the emperor should contain the words, *I will not hold myself nor my own children dearer than Caius Cæsar and his sisters,* and that every motion of the consuls in the senate should conclude with the invocation of a blessing upon him and them together.[1] All these measures were accepted with unbounded delight by the jubilant populace. When Caius assumed, at the instance of the senate, the collective honours of the empire, he had insisted on making a single exception, declining with the modesty of tender youth the appellation of Father of his Country.[2] This conduct the people regarded perhaps with satisfaction, as a tribute to the Nemesis which scans with evil eye the heights of human prosperity; nor were they less pleased, we may believe, at his refraining from pressing upon the senate the confirmation of Tiberius's acts. The name of the tyrant disappeared from henceforth from the public instruments, in which the titles and functions of succeeding emperors were recited.[3] The vulgar notion of Deity was that of a Being who presides with dignified interest over the sports and amusements of his creatures, and to such a character the gloomy recluse of Capreæ had, in the estimation of the Romans, no claim whatever. If the senate, with its usual servility, would have acquiesced in the apotheosis of a tyrant who had degraded and decimated it, the citizens interposed to forbid the honour, and Caius made no effort to enforce it. The enthusiasm with which the early promise of the new principate was received, might be estimated

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 15. [2] Dion, lix. 3. [3] Dion, lix. 9.

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from the vast number of an hundred and sixty thousand victims which, it was computed, were offered in gratitude to the Gods in the course of the first three months. Its birthday, it was decreed, should be sanctified with the name and rites of the Parilia, as the era of the new foundation of the Roman state.[1]

The first consulship of Caius.

The young man's personal defects and vices, of which some mention has already been made, were unknown, it must be observed, at this time to the mass of the citizens. The cunning and selfishness which we have already noticed in him, the ferocity which found pleasure, it is said, in the sight of torments and executions, his unworthy taste for the company of dancers and gladiators and for vulgar shows, the defects in his education, and his moral inaptitude for all elevating subjects of thought, had been concealed from the eyes of the Romans in the recesses of the imperial palaces. For five years his residence had been mostly confined to Capreæ. At a later period it was reported that, in spite of all his dissimulation, he had not been able to conceal the vileness of his nature from Tiberius himself, and the monster was supposed more than once to have remarked, not without a grim satisfaction, that Caius lived for his own and all men's perdition, and that he was rearing a serpent for the Romans, and a Phaethon for the universe.[2] But if any vague rumours of this prince's faults reached the ears of the multitude,

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 14. 16.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 11.: Exitio suo omniumque Caium vivere, et se natricem pop. Romano, Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare.

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they were easily excused in a son of Germanicus, on the plea of inexperience and evil example. The Romans had yet to learn the horror of being subject to a master who had never been trained to mastery over himself. His accession to the Principate was signalized, as we have seen, by unexpected moderation, by profuse liberality, and by some traits of generous feeling; but when on the calends of July, three months later, he assumed the consulship, he confirmed their warmest anticipations by an address to the senate, in which he exposed without reserve all the vices of his predecessor, and denounced them to general execration. At the same time he promised to conduct his own career on very different principles, and declared himself the devoted minister of the august assembly before him. The fathers, apprehensive that such auspicious sentiments might one day change, thought it possible to fix them by decreeing that the harangue which contained them should be annually recited in their presence. During the two months which followed Caius seems to have striven assiduously to redeem his pledge of good government. Untrained as he was, and immoderate alike in every caprice, he threw himself perhaps into this work with feverish impetuosity. The liberal and equitable measures connected with his name may be for the most part referred to this brief period, during which he placed himself in fact as well as in name at the head of Roman affairs. Two summer months were honourably spent in a labour which was probably beyond his strength. On the arrival of the last day of August, the an-

His devotion to business.

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niversary of his birth, he proposed to exchange the duties of industry for those of festive hospitality. His popularity, which had gone on increasing from day to day, was crowned by the ardour with which, descending from the awful chair of state, he plunged into the full tide of the national amusements, by the splendour of the shows he exhibited, and the novelty as well as the variety of the dissipations he provided. He professed to restore the golden age of Augustus, the age, as he imagined it, of universal recreation, which had suffered a gloomy eclipse under the leaden sceptre of Tiberius. The consecration of a temple to the divine founder of the empire, which had been slowly completed by his successor, furnished a fitting memorial for the birthday of the reigning sovereign. The magnificence which was now displayed was such as had not been witnessed at least by two generations. The ceremony was conducted by Caius himself, in a triumphal robe, borne in a chariot drawn by six horses: after the completion of the sacrifices, a hymn was sung by a select chorus of noble children, whose fathers and mothers were both alive; a banquet was given, not to the senators only, but also to their wives and families, as well as to the mass of the citizens; the festival was followed by an entertainment of divers kinds of music, and by horse and chariot races, recurring in rapid succession through two days. Four hundred bears, and as many lions and panthers, were slaughtered in the amphitheatre; patrician youths enacted the game of Troy; while the emperor himself presided over these manifold

sports, and sate benignly through them with his sisters by his side, and surrounded by the ministers of the Augustan hero-worship. That no citizen might be required to absent himself from a scene in which his prince condescended to take delight, the public offices were closed and business suspended, and even the term of private mourning was abridged. Widows, provided at least they were not pregnant, might straightway marry without scandal. To set the spectators quite at ease, they were not required to make their obeisance to the emperor; they were even permitted to disencumber themselves of their sandals, as at a private entertainment, and to cover their heads for protection against the sun, as in the Forum and the streets. This, it is said, was the first occasion of the use of cushioned benches at the games; but as yet this indulgence was confined to the senators only.[1]

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He rushes into dissipation.

Such a festive inauguration of popular amusements long disused might be excused on the first celebration of an imperial birthday, at the outset of a young prince's reign, and at the close of a weary session of public business. But with Caius it was the opening of a new era of enjoyment from which he never afterwards desisted. Resigning in the third month the chair of magistracy he rushed for recreation into the wildest dissipations. While the consul suffectus supplied his place at the head of affairs, the emperor abandoned himself to a long holiday of uninterrupted amusement. His enthusiasm for the public spectacles was the frenzy of one just escaped from the dreary confinement of a

[1] Dion, lix. 7.; Suet. *Calig.* 17.

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hermitage. Soon sated with every fresh object, he sought renewed excitement in variety and strangeness. He introduced the novelty of nocturnal spectacles, at which the whole city was illuminated with lamps and torches. Money and viands, at his command, were thrown liberally to the populace. He indulged too in a giddy humour which was not always dignified. On one occasion, when he feasted the citizens at a gorgeous banquet, he was so pleased with the justice a certain knight did to the luxuries before him, that he ordered his own plate to be offered to him. A senator, who similarly gratified him, was inscribed at once upon the list of Prætors. The games of the circus were continued, with occasional interludes, through the whole twelve hours of the day; and on some special festivals the arena was strown with cinnabar and borax, and the chariots driven by none under the rank of a senator.[1] But even these follies were less criminal than the vices and sensualities to which they led the way. If Caius desired that his people should riot without stint in the pleasures which had so long been grudged them, not less was he resolved to indulge himself to the utmost in the gratification of every sense. He let fall the mask, hitherto but loosely worn, of discretion and modesty, and revelled with furious appetite in the grossest voluptuousness of every kind. The consequence of these excesses was not

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 18. Pliny mentions this use of cinnabar (minium) and borax (chrysocolla). *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 27.: Visumque jam est Neronis principis spectaculis arenam Circi chrysocolla sterni, quum ipse concolori panno aurigaturus esset. He describes these substances in xxxiii. 26, 37. foll.

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slow to follow. The young man's weakly constitution was unable to bear this strain to which he subjected it, and in the eighth month of his delirious dream of power and pleasure he was prostrated by a severe and dangerous illness. The warm sympathy which was now displayed for him, not in Rome only but throughout the provinces, shows how large a space the chief of the Roman state already filled in the interests of the vast population over which he seemed so conspicuously to tower. Great multitudes of people crowded round the palace in which he lay, both by day and night, making anxious inquiries after his health. A citizen, Afranius Potitus, solemnly devoted his own life for the prince's preservation, and a knight named Atanius Secundus vowed to descend into the arena, and fight among the gladiators, in the event of his happy restoration. Such were the extravagances which found favour in that day of unreal and fantastic sentiment. The Romans themselves were not perhaps unconscious of the folly which they encouraged and applauded, and the story that Caius on his recovery compelled his devotees, the one to kill himself, the other to risk the chances of mortal combat, was possibly invented as an expression of the prevailing cynicism of the times.[1]

A.D. 37. A.U. 790. Caius falls sick. Despair of the people.

The account which has been preserved to us of the grief and dismay of the provinces at the prospect of the emperor's early loss is remarkable, not only as a testimony to the wide-spread interest in his person, but for the picture it presents of the

Excitement and distress in the provinces.

[1] Dion, lix. 8, 9.; Suet. *Calig.* 14, 18.

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general prosperity at this epoch. We must remember that the shadow of the Tiberian tyranny extended little beyond the immediate precincts of Rome and Capreæ, and though the description which follows is fantastically drawn, it seems to betoken an actual state of substantial and permanent well-being, not confined to a single locality, nor dependent on the life of an individual, but flowing from a well-organized and universal system of administration.[1] *Who*, asks Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, *was not amazed and delighted at beholding Caius assume the government of the empire, tranquil and well ordered as it was, fitted and compact in all its members, North and South, East and West, Greek and Barbarian, Soldier and Civilian, all combined together in the enjoyment of a common peace and prosperity? It abounded everywhere in accumulated treasures of gold and silver, coin and plate; it boasted a vast force both of horse and foot, by land and by sea, and its resources flowed in a perennial stream. Nothing was to be seen throughout our cities but altars and sacrifices, priests clad in white and garlanded, the joyous ministers of the general mirth; festivals and assemblies, musical contests and horse races, wakes by day and by night, amusements, recreations, pleasures of every kind and addressed to every sense. The rich*, he continues, *no longer trampled upon the poor, the strong upon the weak, masters upon servants, or creditors on their debtors; but the independence of every class met with due respect; so that the Saturnian age of the poets might no longer be regarded as a fiction, so nearly was it revived in the life of*

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that blessed era. Such was the state of things at the accession of Caius; such, he adds, it remained for a space of seven happy months, at the end of which the news arrived of the alarming illness of the emperor.[1] Alas! he had discarded the simplicity of his earlier mode of living; he had abandoned himself to wine and lust and manifold excesses, and in that short space he had reached the brink of a premature grave. *When these sad news,* says Philo, *were spread among the nations,—for the season for sailing was about to close with the decline of autumn, and all who did not wish to winter abroad were hastening home from every quarter,— every enjoyment was at once cast aside, every city and house was clouded with sorrow and dejection, in proportion to its recent hilarity. All parts of the world sickened with Caius, and were worse sick than he, for his was the sickness of the body only, theirs of the soul. All men reflected on the evils of anarchy, its wars, plagues, and devastations, from which they foresaw no protection but in the emperor's recovery. But as soon as the disease began to abate, the rumour swiftly reached every corner of the empire, and universal were the excitement and anxiety to hear it from day to day confirmed. The safety of the prince was regarded by every land and island as identical with its own.*

[1] The security and outward prosperity of the empire under this principate may be further inferred from the curious comment of Orosius: Servi rebelles et fugitivi gladiatores perterruere Romam, evertere Italiam, Siciliam delevere, jam pæne universo humano generi toto orbe metuendi. In diebus autem Salutis hoc est, temporibus Christianis, convellere quietem non potest vel Cæsar infestus. Oros. vii. 5.

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Nor was a single country ever so interested before in the health of any one man, as the whole world then was in the preservation of the adorable Caius. So blind, concludes the sage, *is the mind of man to the matters that most nearly concern it, guessing and imagining this and that, but in fact knowing nothing.*[1]

Caius is corrupted by flattery.

This extravagant flattery, such as that against which the mature good sense of Pompeius had not been proof, easily turned the weak and giddy brain of Caius Cæsar. He began in his wild hallucinations to regard the life which had been saved by so many prayers as something sacred and divine, and to justify to himself any means that might seem conducive to its protection. He felt aggrieved by the nearness of the youthful cousin whom he had deprived of his inheritance, and quickly persuaded himself that his existence was a source of danger to the occupant of the throne. It was enough to affirm that the wretched object of his jealousy had plotted against him: the citizens had no love nor interest but for the child of Germanicus, the giver of all good gifts to them; and when Caius caused him to be privately despatched, not venturing still, from a sense of shame perhaps rather than of distrust, to bring him to trial, they acquiesced in the murder as an act of wholesome expediency.[2] A centurion presented the poor lad with a sword, with the order to thrust it into his own bosom; but so untrained was he in the use of

He puts the young Tiberius to death.

[1] Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 4.

[2] Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 10.: ἀκοινώνητον ἀρχὴν θεσμὸς φύσεως ἀκίνητος .... οὗτος ἃ παθεῖν ἐμέλλησεν ἂν ὑπὸ δυνατωτέρου προδιέθηκεν .... ἰσχυρότερος ὢν ἠμύνατο ....

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weapons, that he was obliged, it was said, to ask instruction how to use it effectually.[1]

A.D. 37. A.U. 790. Degraded manners of Caius.

The charm which blinded the Romans to the crimes and vices of their new ruler was simply the contrast he presented in his manners to the sullen recluse who had robbed them of their pleasures. Caius was endowed with no personal recommendations of figure or countenance. His features, if not altogether devoid of beauty, were deformed by a harsh and scowling expression, and seem even in the rigid marble to writhe with muscular contortion. His head was bald; his complexion sallow and livid; his body was long, and his neck and legs slender; though tall, his limbs were lanky and ill-set; his gait was shambling, and his voice hoarse and dissonant.[2] But he was popular with the rabble, and the knights and senators, who had lately trembled before the sovereign, now cowered before the rabble; for he lived in the eyes of the people; all his actions were public; he sate through the day the observed of all observers in the circus; even his vices and sensual indulgences, gross and startling as they were, he made matters of parade and ostentation. The

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 23.; Dion, lix. 9.; Philo, l. c.

[2] Suetonius (*Calig.* 50.) and Seneca (*de const. Sap.* 18.) vie with one another in investing this prince with the most odious traits of deformity: "Statura fuit eminenti, colore expallido, corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum, oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva, capillo raro ac circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cætera." "Tanta illi palloris insaniam testantis fœditas erat, tanta oculorum sub fronte anili latentium torvitas, tanta capitis destituti et emendicatis capillis aspersi deformitas," &c. This is mere sign-painting. Medals and busts concur in giving us such a countenance as I have described in the text.

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habits of Greece and Asia had suffered the rulers of the state to take part in the public contests of skill and agility, from which the pride of the Roman noble revolted: kings of Hellenic blood had not disdained to contend for prizes in the lists at Antioch or Seleucia; even the renegade Antonius had striven for mastery in the schools of Alexandria. With such examples before him, Caius, the first of the Roman emperors, did not forbear from singing and dancing in public, under the tuition of a noted tragedian.[1] His passion for the sports of the circus led him to descend in person into the arena as a charioteer, and even it is said, as a gladiator.[2] If the base multitude were delighted at seeing knights and senators driven to exhibit themselves for their amusement, much more were they charmed at the condescension of the emperor himself, in bearing a part, like the deities of old, in the sports and contests of his creatures. From this time, under imperial encouragement, charioteering began to take the place of a state institution. The rival parties or factions were known by their colours — the Green, the Blue, the Red, and the White — and the people enlisted themselves on the sides of their favourites with an ardour that menaced sometimes the peace of the city. The Green was the faction to which Caius attached himself: he frequented its stables, lived

[1] Dion, lix. 5. 29.; Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 30.

[2] Dion, lix. 5.: *προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ζήλωμα καὶ ἐς ἀγώνισμα πολλῶν προῆλθεν· ἅρματά τε γὰρ ἤλασε καὶ ἐμονομάχησεν· ὀρχήσει τε ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τραγωδίαν ὑπεκρίνατο· καὶ ταῦτα μέν που ἀεὶ ἐποίει· ἅπαξ δέ ποτε τοὺς πρώτους τῆς γερουσίας σπουδῇ νυκτὸς, ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀναγκαῖόν τι βούλευμα μεταπεμψάμενος, ὠρχήσατο.*

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familiarly with its grooms and drivers, and gave all his confidence to some of its most noted performers. He endowed it with a separate place of exercise, a circus or stadium, in the fourteenth region of the city, to which the name of Caian continued long afterwards to be attached.[1]

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Bloodiness of the gladiatorial shows.

The nobles might sigh over this odious degradation of the majesty of the Cæsars; yet it was better, they might think, that Caius should prostitute it in these trifling amusements, than guard it with the cruel jealousy of a Tiberius. As long as the emperor and people were both amused together, they hoped to enjoy in tranquillity their own voluptuous indolence; but they must have beheld with dismay the reckless prodigality which in a few months had squandered all the savings of the late reign, and began to call for fresh contributions; nor could they have been unconcerned at the increasing bloodiness and ferocity which now distinguished the gladiatorial shows of Caius. The amphitheatre of Taurus was not spacious enough for the combatants who were now launched into the arena. The Septa in the Campus Martius, and other capacious buildings, were seized for these cruel ceremonies. Not only did the emperor himself exhibit these spectacles; he required the prætors and ædiles, who since the disuse of the elections had been

[1] Dion, lix. 4.; Suet. *Calig.* 55.: Prasinæ factioni addictus et deditus. On one occasion he presented a charioteer of the Green, named Eutychus, with a sum of 2,000,000 sesterces, or 16,000*l.* Suet. l. c.; Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 3. It was, I suppose, in his enthusiasm for the art that he threatened, according to Suetonius (c. 55.), to make his horse Incitatus, or Galloper, a consul. Dion believes that he actually did make him a priest of his own divinity (lix. 28.).

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relieved from this public service, to conform once more to the ancient usage of the commonwealth. The restrictions imposed by Augustus on the number of the gladiators were utterly swept away. It was the delight of Caius to witness, not the dexterous fence of single pairs of swordsmen, but the promiscuous struggling of armed bands together. He was not content with the combats of slaves or criminals, or even of occasional volunteers from the ranks of Roman citizenship. He compelled the noble and the free to expose themselves in these horrid contests on various pretences, and on one occasion sacrificed as many as six-and-twenty knights together. The combats with wild beasts were carried on with the same prodigality of human blood. Once, when the number of criminals condemned to this service was not found sufficient, he suddenly commanded some of the spectators within the rails to be dragged into the arena, and opposed defenceless to the lions.[1]

Macro and Ennia are put to death.

Caius was not slow, as might be expected, to profit by the lessons he was thus taking in the art of shedding blood. There was still another personage in Rome upon whom he looked with no less jealousy than upon the innocent Tiberius, the man to whom he owed his empire and possibly even his life. The disposition of the late emperor towards

[1] Dion, lix. 10.; Suet. *Calig.* 27. The story is not unlike some of the traits of cynical irony of which we read in Caius, and is not quite beyond the bounds of credibility: the addition that he caused the tongues of these victims to be cut out, to prevent their outcries, seems a mere extravagant fiction. He was generally careful to keep on good terms with the populace.

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his nephew had been always doubtful. It was supposed by many that he detested his evil nature, and meditated his removal for the safety of one nearer to him. Macro, the tyrant's sole confidant, had boasted to Caius that he had saved him from destruction not less than three times. Whether this were true or not it was at least indiscreet in the minister to refer to it, and in hastening the end of Tiberius, and engaging the senate to accept his successor, Macro had laid obligations upon Caius too great to be repaid or forgiven. By this time the connexion between the young prince and Ennia had become irksome to the licentious lover, as yet too shy to break his chains without blushing. He had promised to make her his empress, but he now hesitated to satisfy her claim. On the one hand, the husband ventured to give unpalatable counsels. He urged, it is said, high and generous views of the duties of empire, and rebuked, perhaps, the recklessness and levity which disgraced the purple of the Cæsars. On the other, the wife pressed the fulfilment of the engagement made to her, and lavished upon her sated admirer caresses which now only disgusted him. Caius had released his friend Agrippa from confinement, and had conferred upon him the sovereignty of a district in Palestine. But he did not immediately dismiss him to the enjoyment of it; his society was too agreeable, his counsels too convenient, to be at once dispensed with.[1] He continued to imbibe lessons in kingcraft from the Eastern politician, and to emulate, under his experienced guidance, the behaviour of Asiatic autocrats; and

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. 11.

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we shall not, perhaps, err in ascribing to this influence the resolution he adopted of ridding himself first of his cousin, and soon afterwards of his unamiable mentor. The storm which was impending over Macro was soon made visible to the courtiers. Caius was observed to frown at his approach, and heard to mutter, *I am no longer a boy, but see, here is my tutor; here is the subject who fancies himself a ruler: I who was born a prince, nursed by emperors, cradled in the cabinet of state, must bow forsooth to an audacious upstart, a novice affecting the airs of a hierophant.*[1] The minister, as may be supposed, did not long survive the utterance of such sentiments by such a master. Macro received, as the last favour, permission to be his own executioner, and Ennia, the partner of his intrigues, and equally disappointed in their success, fell at the same time with him.[2]

M. Silanus commanded to put himself to death.

The destruction of the emperor's greatest benefactor was soon followed by the murder of a man of much higher distinction, and one whom from his station, experience, and intimate connexion with himself, he might have regarded as the most able and faithful of his friends. Caius had been united, as has been mentioned, in early youth to Claudia, the daughter of M. Junius Silanus, a personage whose ancient nobility might entitle him above almost any other citizen to the honour of an imperial alliance. The prince's father-in-law had been treated with the highest distinction both by Tiberius, with whom he had ingratiated himself by discreet but not servile flattery, and afterwards

[1] Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 8. [2] Suet. *Calig.* 26.; Dion, lix. 10.

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by his successor. He had been appointed to the government of Africa; but latterly the jealousy of Caius had been excited against him, the death of his daughter had relaxed the bonds of affinity between them, and the advice he presumed to offer to the prince was ill-received and, perhaps, unskilfully tendered. The command of the legion and one half the patronage of the provinces had been withdrawn from him, and placed in the hands of another officer, who was sent to keep watch over him, and his innocently providing himself with an antidote to seasickness was represented, we are told, as a precaution against poison. Preparations were made, at the emperor's instance, for bringing him to a public trial for some treasonable designs imputed to him; but on the refusal of a noble orator to conduct the accusation, he was got rid of more summarily by an order to put an end to his own life.[1]

Rapid succession of executions and confiscations.

The emperor's pecuniary necessities, in which his frightful extravagance had already involved him, were perhaps the primary motive of this and other atrocities which are said to have quickly followed. The treasury was exhausted, and unpopular taxes had been remitted; but his passion for show and expenditure increased with indulgence, and the appetite of the people required

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 23.; Dion, lix. 8.; and more particularly Philo, *legat. ad Cai.* 9. I cannot but regard this story as suspicious. It was a strong act of policy, and, in the disturbed state of the African frontier, not an unreasonable one, to weaken the arm of the senatorial proconsul by placing an imperial legatus by his side. Such an encroachment, however, on the independence of the senate might naturally be resented, and an invidious fiction be grafted upon it.

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to be pampered with constant novelty and variety. The fatal facility of murder, often without the intervention of any judicial process, offered a dire temptation to power unchecked by principle or pity. Even delation, ever ready at his beck, was too dear an instrument for the prodigal to use. Informers and orators required a portion of the victim's fortune, and their most zealous efforts might sometimes fail of success; but a simple order to the accused to despatch himself was attended with no expense, and it was moreover sure to be effectual. This was the process by which the emperor's blows were made generally to fall upon men whose sole crime was their riches; but if any pretext was wanted, the papers, real or pretended, of Tiberius, the same which he had recently professed to destroy unopened, sufficed to furnish matter of accusation. The two crimes most commonly alleged, as most odious to the nobility on the one hand, and to the populace on the other, were complicity in the bloody artifices of Sejanus, and hostility to the house of Germanicus.[1]

Despair of Caius on the death of his sister Drusilla. A. U. 791.

While the feelings of the reckless profligate were thus becoming hardened in cruelty, they were suddenly embittered by a domestic loss, which, spoilt and pampered as he was, seems to have shattered his reason. The three sisters of Caius have already been mentioned. The scandalous rumours of the day insinuated that he had indulged an incestuous passion for all of them in turn, a horror almost unknown among all the horrors of Roman vice, and which once only before had been

[1] Dion, lix. 4, 6, 10., lx. 4.

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ascribed by party malice to a profligate of an earlier age. The public honours he had obtained for them, and certain marks of favour he was said to bestow on them in private, are not enough to establish the credit of this atrocious charge as regards at least two of the sisters; but the commerce of Caius with Drusilla is too circumstantially attested to be reasonably rejected. He had been rebuked, it is said, for this intrigue by Antonia while yet a stripling. Tiberius united Drusilla to Cassius Longinus; but Caius, when he attained to power, separated her from her husband, and after living for some time openly with her, gave her to an unworthy favourite, M. Lepidus, who seems to have resigned her to him again without a scruple. His passion for this poor creature knew no limits. In his illness, if we may believe our accounts, he had actually named her the inheritress of the empire and of his official dignities.[1] But he recovered, while she shortly afterwards fell sick and died. Caius was plunged in a frenzy of despair. He commanded that she should be honoured with a public funeral of extraordinary magnificence, that all business should cease, and even the commonest affairs of domestic life be suspended on pain of death.[2] For himself he rushed from the city to the solitude of his Alban villa, declared that he was incapable of appearing in the distressing pageant, and abandoned himself instead to the most

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 24.: Heredem quoque honorum atque imperii æger instituit.

[2] Suet. l. c.: Justitium indixit; in quo risisse, lavisse, cœnasse, cum parentibus aut conjuge liberisve, capital fuit. Comp. Dion, lix. 11.

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trifling amusements.[1] Once again he burst from his retreat, and with his beard and hair untrimmed hastened down the Italian coast till he reached Sicily, where he diverted himself with the ordering of some public games at Syracuse. When this humour was satisfied, he returned not less abruptly to Rome, to close the season of mourning and appoint divine honours for the deceased. The senate acquiesced without hesitation. Not only did it decree her the honours of the blessed Livia, but added that her gilded statue should be placed in the Curia, and another in the temple of Venus, to which the same adoration should be paid as to the daughter of Jupiter. She was to bear in heaven the title of Panthea, the Universal Divinity; a temple was to be erected to her; men and women were enjoined to provide themselves with her consecrated images for their private devotions; women were to swear henceforth by no other name. The worship of Drusilla or Panthea was imposed as a duty upon all the cities of Italy and the provinces. A senator, Livius Geminus, swore that he had beheld her with his own eyes ascend into heaven, and he confirmed the assertion by steadfastly imprecating curses on himself and his, if he spake not the truth. The perjury was rewarded on earth by the gift of a million of sesterces. Having strained his morbid feelings to this pitch of fanaticism, the crazy monster relieved them by an outburst of cynical humour. He declared that if

[1] Seneca, *Cons. ad Polyb.* 36.: Conspectum civium suorum profugit . . . justa non præstitit, sed in Albano suo tesseris ac foro, provocatis hujusmodi aliis occupationibus, acerbissimi furoris levabat mala.

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any man dared to mourn for his sister's death he should be punished, for she had become a goddess; if any one ventured to rejoice at her deification, he should be punished also, for she was dead.[1]

Caius marries, and shortly repudiates, Lollia Paulina.

So far was Caius constant to this fantastic passion that he never afterwards swore, it is said, by any other name than Drusilla's. His unbridled fancy had before impelled him to snatch himself a wife from the arms of her husband, after the manner, as he himself pompously proclaimed, of Romulus and Augustus; and this victim being repudiated a few days only after the deification of Drusilla, he repeated the same feat with another.[2] The first of these wives was Orestilla, the consort of Cn. Piso, the son of the enemy of Germanicus; the other was Lollia Paulina, the most celebrated beauty of her days, who was united to a distinguished noble, Memmius Regulus, the consul who had arrested Sejanus.[3] But Caius was not smitten, perhaps, so much by the charms of her person as of her estate, for she was the richest woman in Rome, the heiress of the extortioner of Gaul; and the emperor, like a mere private spendthrift, was driven to restore his shattered fortunes by a judicious alliance. Lollia displayed her magnificence with a pomp truly imperial. *I have seen*

[1] Suetonius, Dion, ll. cc. Seneca, however, by whom the story was probably suggested, gives it no such extravagant turn: Eodem tempore quo templa illi constituebat ac pulvinaria, eos qui parum mœsti fuerunt crudeli afficiebat animadversione.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 25. On the occasion of his marriage with Orestilla, the wife of C. Piso: Matrimonium sibi repertum exemplo Romuli et Augusti. The first had thus carried off Hersilia (Plut. *Rom.* 14.) the last Livia.

[3] Dion, lix. 12.

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her, says Pliny, *on no occasion of special solemnity, but at a plain citizen's bridal supper, all covered with alternate pearls and emeralds — her hair and head-dress, ears, neck, and fingers — worth as much as forty millions of sesterces. Such was the style in which she came to witness the act of marriage. Nor were these the love tokens of a princely prodigal; they were the treasures of her grandsire, amassed from the spoils of provinces. Such was the end of all this rapine. Lollius suffered disgrace and perished by his own hand, that his granddaughter forsooth might blaze by lamp-light in the splendour of forty millions.*[1] But once united to the rapacious emperor, she was not suffered long to parade this brilliancy. She too was repudiated in her turn by the inconstant prince, and we can hardly suppose that she was suffered a second time to carry off her jewels with her.[2] Nevertheless, we shall find her recommended again for her riches as the bride of another emperor; nor does Pliny, in noting the splendour of her fortune, remark how suddenly she was deprived of it.

Herod Agrippa quits Rome for his sovereignty in the East.

In the second year of his principate Caius performed an imposing ceremony, the distribution of crowns and sceptres to various foreign applicants. The solemnity was not the less interesting from the respect he paid to the forms of the republic. A silken curtain, then most rare and precious, was drawn across a lofty stage in the Forum; and the

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ix. 58.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 25.: Brevique missam fecit interdicto cujusquam in perpetuum coitu. This prohibition means, perhaps, that she was forbidden to contract another marriage, in order that the emperor might not be required to restore her portion.

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emperor was discovered seated between the consuls. He recited the decree of the senate, which conferred the throne of Ituræa upon Soemus, of the lesser Armenia upon Cotys, of Thrace upon Rhæmetalces, and of Pontus upon Polemo.[1] At the same time Agrippa, who, recently on the death of Philip, had been gratified with his tetrarchy, to which the districts of Abilene and Cœle-Syria had also been added, was allowed, after long delay, to repair to his new dominions.[2] As the first pledge of his amity, the emperor had already presented him, on his release from custody, with a chain of gold of equal weight with the iron fetters which had bound him to his warder. This present was no more than a token perhaps of the riches which were at the same time heaped upon him, which enabled him to exhibit his accustomed magnificence in Rome during the period that Caius still chose to retain him about his own person. But these shining marks of favour, and the consciousness of his personal influence, did not fail to inspire him with more ambitious views. He aimed at recombining under his sceptre the broken fragments of the great sovereignty of Herod, one portion of which was now under the immediate government of Roman officials, another still occupied by his kinsman Antipas and his sister Herodias. He employed perhaps the period of his prolonged sojourn in Rome in imbuing his patron's mind with distrust of the rulers of Samaria; and the mutual recrimi-

[1] Dion, lix. 12.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 7. 11. Agrippa was relieved from his attendance on his patron in the second year of the Caian principate, on promising to return whenever his presence was required.

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nations of the Jewish princes, which the government forbade to issue in an appeal to arms, could only be controlled eventually by the direct decision of the emperor.

Agrippa arrives at Alexandria on his way to Palestine.

It was in the fall apparently of the year 791 that Agrippa sailed for the East. The speediest and surest voyage from Rome to Palestine lay not by way of Brundisium and the Adrian and Carpathian seas, but by the longer route of Puteoli and Alexandria, on account of its favourable winds, and the superiority of the vessels which ran between those important havens. It was to Alexandria, therefore, on the recommendation of the emperor himself, that Agrippa in the first instance betook himself. His presence there gave rise to some scenes of disorder, which were not without their influence on the future fortunes of the Jewish people, and must not be passed over in silence.

The Jews at Alexandria insulted by the natives.

No one yet perhaps could augur that the Jewish people, the citizens of a narrow and obscure corner of the vast empire, would one day divide the interest of mankind with Rome itself, in a great and mortal struggle. Yet no other city but Jerusalem might seem at this period to rival the capital of the Cæsars, as the centre of a compact and at the same time a wide-spread nationality, and the beloved metropolis of innumerable colonies planted in every land. No other city was so bound to the hearts of its children throughout the world by its customs and traditions, its faith and its aspirations. No other possessed within its bosom the germs of universal conquest: it yet remained to be seen whether circumstances would suffer

the material extension of its power over alien nations, or whether its authority should eventually be confined to a moral and spiritual pre-eminence. But as the presence of the Roman was felt on every foreign shore as that of a material organizer and controller, so the Jews appear in some mysterious way to have rebuked, by the force of their character, wherever they established themselves, the feeble decrepitude of the races around them. The disintegration of ancient nationalities was nowhere more manifest than in the teeming city of Alexandria, where the Greek and Copt mingled in ill-cemented union, and were bound most strictly together by their common hatred of the Jews residing among them. The number of this foreign race in Egypt has already been stated at a million; of the five sections of the great emporium of the East two were principally inhabited by Jews, and they were found scattered in considerable force throughout the others. But if the proportion of this element to the indigenous population was so large, its habits were less gregarious, its temper less excitable: it was devoted to the quiet pursuit of commerce or letters; it had no wish for the exercise of arms, nor was it entrusted with them. The native Alexandrians, however, regarded these Jewish denizens as aliens to be hated and despised; lively and turbulent themselves, they were ever ready to break out in violence against their graver neighbours, and it required all the vigilance and impartial austerity of the Roman rule to protect the one from the bitter animosity of the other. The arrival

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of Agrippa seems to have been the signal for an outburst of this national jealousy. It was the humour of the Alexandrians to mock and injure the Jews on all occasions: they now chose to make the new king of the Jews a special object of derision, and for this purpose taking an idiot of the name of Carabas, well known in their streets, they crowned him with a diadem of papyrus leaves, put a reed in his hand, and bore him in mock triumph through the city, attended by a body-guard of children armed with sticks.[1] On reaching the quarters of their foes they redoubled their shouts and acclamations, saluting him with the titles of Lord and King. Instead of checking this outrage, by which the Jews were naturally exasperated, the Roman governor, Avilius Flaccus, seems to have encouraged and applauded it. This man, after serving Tiberius discreetly in the command of Egypt for the space of five years, had fallen out of favour with the new emperor, and was seeking, as the Jewish party imagined, to recover it. The cherished enmity of the Jewish political leaders to Rome, and the uneasy jealousy of the state towards them, was well known to the men who bore rule in these parts: the Roman officials had themselves too often provoked them purposely by injustice, in order to make their exasperation a pretext for harsher measures of repression. Such perhaps was the object which Flaccus now had in view; such at least it appeared to the sufferers themselves, one of whom, the most distinguished name in their secular literature, has denounced it with no little

[1] Philo *in Flaccum*, 6.

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eloquence and feeling. Tiberius had forbidden the worship of his pretended divinity in Rome: even in the provinces he had restrained and discouraged it. He knew that it was absurd; and nothing absurd in politics, he shrewdly determined, could continue to be always safe. But the crude inexperience of his youthful successor was troubled by no such reasonable scruples. The governors of the provinces were induced to believe that they could in no way pay court to him more palatably, than by impelling their subjects to the adoration of the Roman Cæsar. The excessive repugnance of the Jews throughout the world to admit any representations of the human form into their places of religious meeting incited Flaccus to adopt this means of humiliating them, and he instigated their fellow-citizens in Alexandria to demand that statues of the emperor should be erected in their synagogues. Tumults and bloodshed quickly followed. The Alexandrians, as the strongest party, drove the Jews into a single quarter of the city, plundering and burning their residences throughout the rest, and subjecting many of them to death and tortures. But the prefect, who had acted thus shamefully, found that in his zeal he had fatally overreached himself. The government at Rome, always sensitive on the condition of Egypt, was seriously alarmed and offended. He was summoned home to answer for the peril into which he had brought the storehouse of Italy, and sent thither in chains by his successor Bassus.[1]

Statues of the emperor intruded into the Jewish synagogues.

Disturbances at Alexandria.

Flaccus, the Roman governor, disgraced.

[1] Philo *in Flacc.* 6—13.: τοῦτο καινότατον ὑπέμεινε Φλάκκος ἐν χώρᾳ ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο, πολεμίου τρόπον ζωγρηθείς. Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 9. 1.

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Meanwhile Agrippa had hastily quitted the scene into which his presence had introduced so terrible a disturbance, and prosecuted his voyage to Palestine. His arrival in his new principality excited the alarm and jealousy of the rulers of Samaria, on whose compassion he had so lately lived. Antipas was wary and circumspect, slow, perhaps, to feel, and still slower to move; Herodias, more quick and prompt, if not really more ambitious, than her husband, urged him with all her influence to repair in person to Rome, and sue for the province of Judea, or at least for such a confirmation of his actual sovereignty as might secure it against the intrigues of their artful neighbour.[1] It was long before she could prevail upon him to risk the voyage to Italy, from whence so many occupants of Eastern thrones had never returned. At last they sailed together for Baiæ, where Caius was then sojourning, closely followed by Agrippa, with charges against them of complicity with a new revolution in Parthia, and of preparing to hold Samaria against the Romans with seventy thousand stand of arms they had there collected. The result of the interviews which the rivals had successively with the emperor was that Antipas was deprived of his sovereignty, and relegated, first to Lugdunum, and afterwards to the distant province of Spain.[2] Herodias, as the daughter of Antonia's friend Berenice, was indulged with an offer of pardon, together with some portion of her estates;

[1] Salvador (i. 454.) reminds us how Antipas is characterized as a *fox* in the Gospels. St. Luke, xiii. 32.

[2] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2.

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but this, with the high spirit of a Jewish matron, she firmly rejected, and insisted on sharing the disgrace of her husband. The fortunate Agrippa was now gratified with the addition of Samaria to his dominions. The province of Judea alone remained to reunite the sovereignty of Herod.

Agrippa receives Samaria, in addition to his tetrarchy of Galilee.

Caius had now played the autocrat without restraint or remonstrance for more than two years, and his pride had been inflated to the highest pitch of extravagance. The foreign princes, whom he had assembled about his throne and admitted to his table, had pampered him with fulsome adulation. They had vied with one another in doing homage to him as the dispenser of crowns; they had suffered him to regard and treat them as his vassals, and acknowledged themselves as merely ministers of his paramount authority. When they contended among themselves for precedence, he cut short the dispute with the maxim of Homer, *One chief, one king.* It is mentioned, as the height of his daring insolence, that he *alt but* assumed the diadem, and converted the shadow of the principate into the reality of a royal rule.[1] But the Eastern King was always near allied to Divinity. This was a political dogma which the Macedonians had found established in Asia, and they had willingly availed themselves of it. Regarding the Godhead as a Spirit of Joy and Bounty only, without the sterner attributes and moral excellences attached to him by the Western and Northern world, the Oriental,

Caius claims divine worship.

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 22.: Exclamavit, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς: Nec multum abfuit quin statim diadema sumeret, speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret.

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and the Greek especially, was prone to discover an emanation of Divinity in every human dispenser of worldly blessings. Giver of good things, Giver of prosperity, was the title with which he was content to address the supreme ruler of the Universe[1]: it was easy to divert his adoration from the supreme to the lesser givers, his own chiefs and kings, who were nearer to him, and whose bounty he could more sensibly appreciate. If they were not almighty, even the Gods above were subject one to another, and all to Fate[2]: if they were vicious and impure, the Gods too had their pleasant vices: their follies and even their crimes were little regarded as long as these imperfections did not touch the mass of their worshippers. It was long before the higher moral sense of the Romans could yield assent to this degrading view of the Deity; but when the populace grew thoroughly corrupt, and imbued in a great degree with Oriental phantasies, the upper class, with no belief of its own, was willing that they should amuse and deceive themselves by any belief however preposterous. The divine honours paid to so many of his race, and the regular form which the Cæsar-worship was assuming amidst the ruins of ancient rituals, made a lively impression on the imagination of the excitable Caius. When eleven cities of Asia contended before the senate for the honour of devoting themselves to the

[1] Callimachus, *in Jov.* 91.: δῶτορ ἐάων, δῶτορ ἀπημοσύνης . . . .

[2] Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 3. 52.:

Mox crescit in illos
Imperium Superis; sed habent et Numina legem.

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worship of Tiberius, the claims of Miletus and Ephesus had been rejected because they were too deeply engaged in the service of Apollo and Diana.[1] The cult of the emperor, they were given to understand, wherever it was established, ought to precede every local religion; or rather his worshippers ought to divide their vows and sacrifices with no other patron. The principle thus gravely asserted Caius carried out without compunction: He aspired not only to be recognised as a God, but claimed the same preeminence among the Gods as he enjoyed without a rival among human potentates. His assumption of the name and attributes sometimes of Hercules, sometimes of Bacchus, sometimes of Apollo, was the whim of his monstrous imagination; but when he proclaimed himself the Latian Jupiter himself, still more when he pretended to converse as an equal or superior with Jupiter, and challenged him with an Homeric verse to combat, he asserted that the worship of the Cæsar was paramount throughout the world to every other formula of religious devotion.[2]

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This assumption of divinity, in which even the Romans acquiesced, met, we may suppose, with no resistance, and was admitted almost without remark in the provinces generally. The Athenians might sigh to see the heads of some of their noblest images struck off, and the trunks carried to Rome to be joined to the features of a barbarian emperor;

This claim admitted generally with indifference,

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 22.: Cum Capitolino Jove secreto fabulabatur, modo insusurrans, ac præbens invicem aurem, modo clarius nec sine jurgiis. Nam comminantis audita est: ἢ μ'ἀνάειρ', ἢ ἐγὼ σέ. *Il.* xxiii. 724. Comp. Dion, lix. 28., and a story in Seneca, *de ira*, i. ult.

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but it was the insult to art and taste and generous feeling, not to their languid religious sentiments, which they chiefly resented.[1] But with the Jews, both at home and abroad, it was far otherwise. Where, indeed, their numbers were few, and their sense of nationality weakened by distance or dispersion, the order to set up the emperor's statue in their synagogues might excite no direct resistance; but wherever numbers and union, as well as obstinate prejudices, gave them strength, they sternly refused to admit the accursed thing within their walls, and defied the powers of earth to intrude it on them. At Alexandria the contest had issued in riot and bloodshed. The Jews were overpowered for the time. We have seen indeed that the indiscretion with which the Roman governor had encouraged their assailants had been followed by his disgrace; but this had been merely a popular persecution, and the resistance of the Jews to it might be excused, and its abettor punished. When, however, the decree of the senate should be launched, with the sanctions of law and power, for the establishment of the emperor's worship in the synagogue, opposition to it would be regarded with far other eyes, the fury of the multitude would be backed by all the force of Rome, and the hands of the procurator strengthened for a complete and final victory. When Bassus arrived to take the place of Flaccus, he bore, perhaps, in his hands the instrument of this spiritual tyranny.

but resented with indignation by the Jews.

[1] Suet. l. c. We must remember the infatuated worship they had themselves paid to Antonius in the guise of Bacchus more than seventy years before.

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The triumph of the Jewish party was but short-lived. Not only in Alexandria but, as they were informed, in Judea and throughout the world, the decree for the worship of the emperor's image would be speedily enforced without remorse. Possibly there was still a moment of suspense before the bolt fell. The Alexandrian Jews sought to avert it by a direct appeal to the sense or mercy of the emperor. Among many learned and eloquent men who adorned their persuasion, was at that time one of peculiar eminence, whose profound erudition and skill in moulding the belief of his country to the philosophy of the Greeks, have given him a high place in the ranks of classical literature. Philo the Jew, as he was specially designated, to distinguish him from the many scholars who once bore the same name but have long past into oblivion, was now sent with four others as a deputation from his countrymen in Egypt, to lay before Caius the grievances under which they suffered, to explain the nature of their religious scruples, and to avert if possible the wrath of the self-styled Divinity by protestations of loyalty and true devotion.

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Mission of Philo the Jew. A.D. 40. A.U. 793.

The account of this embassy, which this illustrious writer has left us, is one of the most curious monuments of antiquity. No other fragment of ancient history, excepting perhaps the fourth of Juvenal's Satires, gives us so near an insight into the actual domestic life of the rulers of the world; and though the style of Philo is laborious and turgid, and the character of his mind, ever exercised in weaving plausible unrealities, such as to

Interview of the Jewish envoys with Caius.

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engage little confidence in his judgment or even in his statements of fact, nevertheless we cannot rise from its perusal without feeling that we have made a personal acquaintance, to use the words of another philosopher of the day, with *the kind of beast called a tyrant.*[1] As Antipas and Agrippa had contended which should outstrip the other in first reaching the prince's ante-chamber, so the Alexandrians sent now their deputation as well as the Jews, and both the one and the other landed almost at the same moment on the coast of Campania. The Jews were much dismayed at hearing on their arrival that Petronius, the governor of Judea, had been commanded to erect a colossal figure of the Cæsar in the temple of Jerusalem, even in the Holy of Holies[2]; and that the consummation of this crowning impiety, retarded for a moment by the hesitation of that officer at the prayers, the murmurs, and the menaces of the true believers, was urged more imperatively than before by a fresh injunction from Rome, and now only awaited the completion of the abominable image by the hands of the Phœnician artificers. At this time the tyrant was flitting from one of his villas to another, followed by various trains of courtiers and petitioners, and among them the rival envoys of Egypt, long unable to obtain an audience. At last he sum-

[1] The saying of Apollonius of Tyana, in the life of him by Philostratus, iv. 37.: *τὸ δὲ θήριον τοῦτο ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τύραννον, οὔτε ὑπόσαι αἱ κεφαλαὶ αὐτῷ οἶδα, οὔτε εἰ γαμψώνυχόν τε καὶ καρχαροδοῦν ἐστιν.*

[2] Philo, *legat. ad Caium*, 26.: *οἴχεται ἡμῶν τὸ ἱερόν· ἀνδριάντ κολοσσιαῖον εἰσωτάτω τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνατεθῆναι ὁ Γάϊος προσέταξε Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ.*

moned these last to an interview together in the gardens of Mæcenas, which he had connected with the ample pleasure grounds of the Lamias, and where he was engaged in planning extensions and alterations, to adapt the proudest seats of the Roman nobility to the proportions of a royal residence. *This was the spot*, says Philo, *chosen whereon to enact the catastrophe of the great drama of Jewish nationality.*[1] *Here*, he continues, *we found the tyrant, surrounded by stewards, architects, and workmen,—every hall and chamber thrown open for his inspection,—ranging from room to room. Called into his presence, we advanced reverently and discreetly, saluting him by the title of Augustus and Imperator.* Halting for a moment in his eccentric course, he suddenly addressed them. *What*, said he, *are you the God-haters, the men who deny my Divinity, confessed by all the world besides?*[2] and he raised his hand towards heaven with a frightful execration. The Alexandrians pressed forward in their turn with odious adulation. *Lord and master*, said their spokesman Isidorus, *still more, and more justly, will you hate them, when you learn that of all mankind these Jews alone have refused to sacrifice for your safety. . . . Lord Caius, Lord Caius*, exclaimed the Jews, *we are slandered.*[3] *We have sacrificed for you, we have offered hecatombs, we have not feasted on the flesh of our victims,*

[1] Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 44.: κεῖθι γὰρ ἐπὶ παροῦσιν ἡμῖν ἡ κατὰ πάντος τοῦ ἔθνους ἔμελλε σκηνοβατεῖσθαι δραματοποιΐα.

[2] Philo, l. c.: ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ θεομισεῖς, οἱ θεὸν μὴ νομίζοντες εἶναί με, τὸν ἤδη παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνωμολογημένον.

[3] Philo, c. 45.: κύριε Γάϊε, συκοφαντούμεθα.

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but have made holocausts of them, not once but thrice already; first when you assumed the empire, again when you were restored from your dire disease, once more for the success of your expedition against the Germans. . . . Be it so, replied he, *ye sacrificed for me, but not to me.* The unfortunate Jews were struck dumb with *abysmal terror.*[1] For a moment they were relieved by the emperor suddenly rushing off to some distant apartments, some upstairs, some below, examining their proportions and decorations, approving here, ordering changes and reconstructions elsewhere. The envoys were hurried in his train, backwards and forwards, the Alexandrians pressing on with them, and ever jeering and mocking them, *as in a play.* But at the next pause in his career, Caius turned round abruptly with the question, *Pray, gentlemen, why do not you eat pork?* Whereat the Alexandrians in their glee so far forgot themselves as to burst into loud uncourtly merriment, which brought upon them frowns and shrugs from some of the emperor's attendants. The moment was favourable to the Jewish envoys, and they answered discreetly, *Every people has its special customs; our opponents are not without their own peculiarities. Some nations*, one of them meekly suggested, *refrain from eating the flesh of young lambs. . . Quite right too*, screamed the emperor, *their meat is bad.* Pleased with his joke, which took the Jews by surprise, he went on more mildly to inquire into the national usages of their countrymen: but when they began to address him in a set speech, explaining and justifying the principles of their polity, he soon cut

[1] Philo, c. 45.: φρίκη βύθιος.

them short, afraid, as Philo surmised, to listen to a justification which he should be unable to refute, and rushed back to his architectural fancies. Among the wonders before them, the envoys, terrified as they were, could not help remarking the windows of one chamber filled with a transparent stone, admitting the light but warding off the wind, and tempering the burning rays of the sun. Once more the emperor came up to them, and desired them, with less asperity than at first, to resume their explanations; but again he interrupted them after a few words by running off to superintend the arrangement of some pictures. The Jews continued still to follow him, more dead than alive from fear, putting in from time to time a few words of solicitation or apology, but addressing themselves all the while in silent prayer to the great God of their fathers. *He had mercy*, says Philo, *upon us, and turned at last the emperor's heart to pity. . . . Men who think me no God*, exclaimed Caius, *are more unfortunate, after all, than criminal;* and with this remark he left the place and dismissed them. Though his last words were not ungracious, the Jews perceived that they had failed in the object of their mission, and returned home with heavy hearts, with no hope in the compassion or justice of man. They betook themselves to their God, and they found deliverance. The resolution indeed of the tyrant was in no wise shaken; the instances even of Agrippa, whom the Jews engaged to plead their cause, and to enforce moral with political arguments, were totally unavailing.[1] The

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 9. 8. According to this writer Caius at

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orders to Petronius were repeated with increasing stringency, and every plea and pretext for delay disregarded. The Jews, stung to madness, were preparing to defend their holy place at the price of their national existence, when in a moment a blow, that might seem heaven-directed, struck down the monster, and paralysed the sacrilege. But the crimes of this semi-Oriental Divinity have yet to be described more particularly, before we can rejoice as it deserves in the just retribution of his downfal.

one moment yielded to Agrippa, and rescinded his orders to Petronius; but on hearing of the resistance the Jews were prepared to make repeated them more vehemently than ever. The last missive, however, did not reach Petronius till after the news had arrived of the tyrant's death. Comp. Tac. *Hist.* v. 9.: Jussi a Caio Cæsare effigiem ejus in templo locare, arma potius sumpserunt: quem motum Cæsaris mors diremit.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE DEFICIENCY OF OUR MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF CAIUS. — DEFECTS OF HIS EDUCATION AND TRAINING. — HIS CONTEMPT FOR POLITICAL DISGUISES. — THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE ARICIAN DIANA. — COLOSSAL CHARACTER OF HIS CONCEPTIONS: HIS ARCHITECTURAL EXTRAVAGANCES. — THE VIADUCT OVER THE VELABRUM. — THE BRIDGE OF BOATS AT BAIÆ. — HIS EXTRAVAGANT LUXURY. — HE PRETENDS TO ELOQUENCE. — HIS SPITE AGAINST GREAT REPUTATIONS, AND BELIEF IN HIS OWN DIVINITY. — SYSTEMATIC PERSECUTION OF THE WEALTHY NOBLES. — MASSACRE OF EXILES. — THE PEOPLE ALIENATED BY TAXATION. — HIS EXPEDITION INTO GAUL. — OVERTHROW OF LENTULUS GÆTULICUS AND LEPIDUS. — PRETENDED INVASION OF BRITAIN. — RETURNING TO ROME, HE PLAYS THE TYRANT WITHOUT DISGUISE. — CONSPIRACIES AGAINST HIM. — HE IS SLAIN BY CASSIUS CHÆREA. (A.D. 39—41., A.U. 792—794.)

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A.D. 37. A.U. 790. The principate of Caius a gap in the annals of Tacitus.

THE loss of several books of the Roman Annals of Tacitus leaves us dependent for our knowledge of the domestic events of the third principate on the meagre pages of Dion and Suetonius. Of that immortal work, every gap in which may be equally deplored as a loss to history and to philosophy, four books, from the seventh to the tenth, contained the affairs of less than ten years; a larger space proportionally than the writer had allowed to the details of the Tiberian administration; from whence we may conclude that the later period was even more prolific than the earlier in important and interesting events. If two or even three of these

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books were appropriated, as we may suppose, to the reign of Caius, many circumstances must undoubtedly have been deemed worthy of more particular consideration than we find in the dry statements of Dion, and the desultory anecdotes of the Roman biographer, and must have occupied, in the thoughtful view of a wiser writer, no unimportant place in the general history of his countrymen. We may presume that in them the affairs of the Roman administration in the East (of which we now derive our information from Jewish sources only) were treated with the fulness of detail and wealth of language which became the pen of the most eloquent of historians, and with all that deep interest in the subject which must have been felt by one who had lived to witness the struggle and awful catastrophe in which they had resulted. From them we should have learnt, perhaps, the real nature of the complaints of the Alexandrians against the Jews, and have been admitted, at least, to a familiar acquaintance with the condition of the Egyptian capital, with its mixed population of surly Copts, subtle and garrulous Greeks, reserved and busy Hebrews. We should have traced, in a few burning touches never to be obliterated, the fierce unyielding character of that marvellous people, to whom, as the surest of human depositaries, were committed the oracles of God. We should have received more particular details of the false and offensive statements regarding the origin of the intruders from Palestine, which circulated among their enemies, and which, as we discover from the allusion of Tacitus himself at a later

period, were accepted by the Romans with the prone credulity of national exasperation.[1]

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How Tacitus would have painted the emperor Caius.

But more especially we might expect to have found in these lost books a judicious and temperate survey of the state of public feeling at Rome, and a comparative view of the genius of the nation as it appeared under the first and under the third Princeps; with an estimate of the manifest decline of national sentiments, and decay of ancient ideas, which could render possible the existence of a tyranny Oriental in its features, a reign of abject terror and self-abasement in the centre of the Western capital, in the midst of every outward appliance of luxury and festive enjoyment. We should have seen perhaps portrayed in glowing characters the circumstance which marked the great distinction between the despotism of a Tiberius and a Caius: that the one blighted with its chill shadow the germs of national enjoyment; while the other, though far more wanton and ferocious, surrounded itself with all the most alluring forms of gaiety and voluptuousness. Above all, we should have admired the dark picture of the terrible emperor himself, drawn as Tacitus only could have drawn him, as a deified Tarquin or a crowned and sceptred Catilina. In a few striking lines he has already described him to us, such as he was in early youth, a degraded and servile dissembler, drowning all sense of honour and affection in obscene sensuality, making himself unworthy of life for mere life's sake[2]: in another place a single expression escaping from his pen, implies his belief

[1] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2—5. [2] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20.

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in the wretched monster's insanity [1]; and this no doubt is the view of his character, which the complete account of his career, had it descended to us, would have brought out in full and startling relief.

Possibly some injustice has been done to the character of Caius.

The most cursory examination, indeed, of our existing authorities will show that, while they seem to vie with one another in reciting the worst atrocities of the Caian principate, there is much in which their accounts contradict each other, and much about which a thoughtful reader will feel constrained to suspend his credence. Critics, accordingly, have not been wanting who, rejecting as confused and incredible the bulk of this hostile testimony, have suggested that Caius was in truth the victim of the capital and the nobility, a protector of the provinces and the populace, whose character was blackened with desperate malice by the animosity of partisans. Even the adverse testimony of Tacitus, they would urge, might have served, as in the case of Tiberius, to discredit some of the statements of his historical colleagues, and thus to mitigate our idea of the crimes of the object of their common hostility. It is possible we might read in the character of Caius, thus sifted by the cross-examination of the witnesses against him, an anxiety to avoid the errors of his prede-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 3.: Caii turbata mens. Again, but not quite in the same sense (*Hist.* iv. 48.), Turbidus animi. Seneca, in a passage quoted above, speaks of his *insania* as sufficiently manifest. So again (*Cons. ad Polyb.* 36.), Furiosa inconstantia. Suetonius assures us that he was himself sensible of his infirmity, and proposed to take a course of hellebore in retirement. *Calig.* 50. His distraction of mind, his habitual fever and sleeplessness, as described by this writer, are strongly indicative of intermittent insanity.

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cessor; and that as Tiberius secluded himself from his people, and fell into the hands of an unworthy favourite, his successor may have resolved to know everything and do everything himself, to rely upon no minister or adviser, but rushing unceasingly from Rome to Italy, from Italy to the provinces, to inform himself of every detail of his world-wide administration: a task to which no man was equal, least of all a poor sickly youth of imperfect education and unbalanced intellect, — a task which had overstrained the energy of a Julius, the sagacity of an Augustus, and the prudent industry of a Tiberius. That there was a period at the commencement of his brief principate during which there was at least a struggle between beneficent wishes and selfish inclinations, when his liberal and patriotic declarations were not consciously insincere, nor his observance of the people and senate assumed at the mere dictate of fear, cannot fairly be disputed. His activity was certainly remarkable; many of his plans of public improvement were as wise as they were bold; the vigilance of his government never relaxed; though well aware of the perils of his position, he was harassed by no craven timidity; we hear of no complaints under him of affairs neglected and foes encouraged: yet he surrendered himself to no minister or favourite; he did his own work with a vehement impetuosity, no less conspicuous in the toils of administration than in the excesses of debauchery. Nevertheless, the verdict of antiquity has gone against him. The question with our imperfect lights will not bear to be reopened; and we have no other

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course but to join in the general condemnation pronounced upon the miserable stripling, of whom the best that can be said is that the wildness of a brain, stricken in the cradle with hereditary insanity, was aggravated by the horrors of his unnatural position. Accepting the common impression of his character as on the whole sufficiently established, I shall be satisfied with pointing out, in one or two remarkable instances, the apparent distortion of wise and laudable conduct by a spirit of malicious misrepresentation.

Disadvantages under which he succeeded to power.

The men, it must be observed, who had preceded Caius in empire had all been trained to rule by long exercise, and had tested their powers in the best of schools, in wholesome and manly obedience to the circumstances which controlled them. Caius alone had inherited his autocracy without undergoing the process of discipline, for the mere abject servility of his submission to his uncle does not deserve the name of a moral and reasonable training. It was only for a short time that he had enjoyed any expectation of eventually succeeding, and the sole course which offered for reaching the glittering prize was to crouch unremarked in the shadow of the emperor's footstool. He was jealously precluded from the moral and intellectual efforts which might have helped to fit him for the arduous post before him. Such instruction as he received was confined to merely literary exercises: the habit of declamation, though ostensibly the training of a Cicero or a Demosthenes, had in fact no more bearing on real affairs than the lessons of a modern schoolboy. When we read that Caius pronounced a funeral

harangue over the bier of Livia at the age of fifteen; that Augustus and Julius Cæsar, and others, performed similar feats in still tenderer years, we must consider these exercitations as mere conventional themes, composed by rule and measure, and under a tutor's eye. As a scholar Caius showed some vivacity, and achieved, perhaps, some success; the remarks recorded of him in later years show natural wit and cleverness[1]: but there is no reason to suppose that his mind expanded by exercise and observation, or that he ever learnt much more than what his pedagogues instilled into him.[2] Such talents and such accomplishments had none of the bone and muscle of true intellectual strength, and could impart no just self-reliance to the pupil, who entered almost at the same moment on manhood and on empire. There is, however, another respect in which the practical training of the earlier emperors, denied to Caius, aided in the development of their native genius for government At this crisis in the life of the Roman people, when society, shaken to its foundations, trembled on the verge of hopeless anarchy, the broad enuntiation of a principle or theory of government might have overturned it in a moment. It was not for the safety of their rulers only that it was requisite to

[1] As, for instance, his calling Livia an *Ulysses in petticoats* (Ulyxem stolatum), and describing the style of Seneca, the philosopher, as *untempered mortar* (arenam sine calce). Suet. *Calig.* 23, 53.

[2] It must be allowed, however, that Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* xix. 2. 5.) speaks highly of this prince's education, though he admits that it was nullified by the curse of his position: ἐπρώτευσε τε τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτῶν, οὐ μὴν ἀντισχεῖν οἷα τε εγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας συλλεγέντα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπελθόντα ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας.

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rest in practical expedients; it was much more essential to the welfare of the people that they should be kept in ignorance of the real views of their rulers, and allowed to indulge in the dream of independence, from which they derived their self-respect, and walked with firmer step and erecter carriage. If the substance of freedom was irretrievably lost, it would have been mere cynicism to strip them of the shadow which they still mistook for it, and deprive them of the last consolations of their brilliant servitude. This was the practical lesson which Augustus and Tiberius learnt in the school of experience, before their time arrived for applying it: but such a lesson was never impressed upon the rude mind of their successor. Caius, when he found himself the master of a legion of slaves, felt neither shame nor scruple in proclaiming his own power, and exacting their devotion. He despised as ignoble the caution of his predecessors in disclaiming the full acknowledgment of their undoubted prerogatives. He regarded himself, not as a Princeps or Imperator, but as a King; and if he did not extort from his subjects the odious title, he allowed the idea to become impressed upon them by jurists and moralists; so that we may now begin to trace the dawning in the Roman mind of the theory of royal prerogative. The complete and irresponsible power he claimed over the persons and property of his people, and even the soil on which they stood, was derived neither from hereditary nor elective right: it was the prey of the strongest, which Fate had placed in his hands, and which Force only

could secure to him.[1] His wild untutored intellect could grasp, perhaps, no higher or subtler principle of authority than this: it was ever present to his mind and harassed it with perpetual anxiety: he lived in constant oscillation between the exultation of unrestrained enjoyment and the depressing consciousness of danger: he strained his imagination to realize by the most wanton excesses the substance of unlimited power, at one moment as an excitement, at another as a relief and consolation.

Strange story of the priesthood of the Arician Diana.

Many instances are given of these excesses, to some of which the course of our narrative will compel us to refer. I mention one only in this place, which seems to illustrate, in a form which may, perhaps, be regarded as mythical rather than strictly true, the turn which the position of Caius gave to his reflections. In the dark recesses of the woods which overshadowed the lake of Nemus, stood a chapel of the Tauric Diana, whose sanguinary rites on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus were remembered, though no longer practised, in the milder clime of Latium. Nevertheless, the belief

[1] Thus, we read in Seneca, *de benef.* vii. 4.: Jure civili omnia Regis sunt, et tamen illa quorum ad regem pertinet universa possessio, in singulos dominos descripta sunt, et unaquæque res habet possessorem suum .... Ad reges potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas. True, he is here laying down a general principle; but its applicability to the Roman polity of his day is hardly disguised. So again (vii. 6.): Cæsar omnia habet, fiscus ejus privata tantum ac sua; et universa in imperio ejus sunt, in patrimonio propria. (Plin. *Paneg.* 50.), praising the moderation of Trajan: Est quod Cæsar non suum vidat. Compare at a later period, Gaius, ii. 7.: In provinciali solo dominium populi Romani est vel Cæsaris. Memento, said Caius of himself (Suet. *Calig.* 29.), omnia mihi et in omnes licere.

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still commonly prevailed that the priest, or king as he was denominated, who ministered at her altar was qualified for his office by the slaughter of his predecessor, and held it only by the tenure of strength in combat or swiftness in flight against the next aspirant. Such was the legend of the shrine, which had become embodied in the poetical ritual of Ovid, and was noted even in the graver treatise of the geographer Strabo.[1] If so wild an usage had ever actually existed, and received the sanction of authority, we may well believe that it had long fallen into desuetude. But the story rendered current by the credulity of popular antiquarians excited the curiosity and horror of the vulgar; and the emperor Caius, ever logical in his deductions, and a shrewd proscriber of all hollow pretensions, affected indignation that the actual incumbent of the office, the champion of the grove, should enjoy his dignified indolence unchallenged. He instigated, we are assured, a stronger man to seek him in his retreat, and required him to defend his preferment with his life.[2] We may imagine the grim satisfaction with which the imperial philosopher might reduce this theory of succession to practice. Such, at all events, was the view he took of his own position. He regarded himself,

[1] Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 271.:

Regna tenent fortesque manu pedibusque fugaces,
Et perit exemplo postmodo quisque suo.

Comp. Strabo, v. 3. p. 239.: *τὸ δ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ὃ καλοῦσι Νέμος . . . . καὶ γάρ τι βαρβαρικὸν κρατεῖ καὶ Σκυθικὸν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔθος· ξιφηρὴς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀεὶ, περισκοπῶν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις, ἕτοιμος ἀμύνεσθαι.*

[2] Suet. *Cal.* 35.: Nemorensi regi, quod multos jam annos potiretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit.

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sometimes perhaps with a bitter smile, as no other than the minister of a bloody destiny, once raised to power by a deed of blood, and liable to be cast down not less suddenly by another.

Caius imbibes a notion of his own superior nature.

The contemplation of his extraordinary position as the deified autocrat of the world, lying as it did almost beyond the verge to which a Roman's imagination could at this period extend, seems to have filled this poor vain creature's mind with an inward assurance, which he mistook perhaps for the inspiration of divinity, that he was altogether a being of a different texture from the common clay of mortality. As shepherds or herdsmen are different in species from the animals they govern, so, he boldly argued, must the ruler of the Roman world belong to a higher and grander existence than the troop of slaves he dominates over.[1] When this conception had taken possession of him, it became his passion to realize it in every outward act; to prove to himself, to manifest to the world, that he was subject to none of the laws by which mere men are controlled; that his transcendental being was elevated above the restraints of all inferior existences; that he stood in incommunicable dignity far aloof from the ordinary sympathies of humanity; while there was no conception so daring, no combination so preposterous, as to be beyond his power to execute. Thus, on the one hand, we find him, on this account, taking a pride in showing himself inaccessible to the ordinary sentiment of pity, steeling himself to the sight of pain, and at

[1] Philo, *leg. in Cai.* 11.

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last feeling, or affecting perhaps to feel, an actual pleasure in it[1]; exulting again in the defiance of the rules of common decency, and indulging in the most open shamelessness of behaviour, for the mere wanton sport of offending and horrifying his associates. It was in this spirit that he complained that his reign was signalized by no great public calamity, such as the Varian massacre, or the fall of the theatre at Fidenæ.[2] On the other hand, he delighted in the execution of the most fantastic projects, to prove, as it would seem, that he was lord both of sea and land, and of all the powers of nature, and that nothing was too extravagant, nothing too amazing, for the deified Cæsar to effect. To stand on the summit of a lofty basilica and scatter money to the populace, seemed to him an act of divine munificence; to sail along the Campanian coast in enormous galleys, equipped with porticoes, baths, and banquet halls, interspersed with gardens and orchards, delighted him as a defiance of the elements.[3]

Colossal conceptions of Caius: his architectural extravagances.

We find the colossal character of this wonder-worker's conceptions running, as generally with the Roman potentates, in the direction of material constructions. *To pull down in order to re-*

[1] It pleased him to say that he practised the ἀδιατρεψία, or steadfastness of the Stoics, in accustoming himself to gaze upon human suffering without blenching. Pliny remarks, as a peculiarity of this emperor's eyes, that they seldom or never winked: he calls them oculi rigentes (*H. N.* xi. 54.); but whether this was natural, or had been attained by muscular effort, he does not say.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 31.

[3] Suet. *Calig.* 37.: Nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur.

erect, to change the square into the round;—such, in a word, was the idea which governed the passion of the time for building, which was constantly projecting the bay of the tribune from the flat wall of the basilica, replacing the oblong temple of Greece with the circular dome-vaulted Pantheon, and turning the arch, the genuine invention of native art, to support story above story, and rear Antiochs and Alexandrias upon the area of Rome. To build was to create, and to create was divine. Fired with the persuasion of his august divinity, Caius rioted in the number and magnificence of his architectural undertakings. He completed the temple of Augustus, which Tiberius had left unfinished, and effected the repair or restoration of the theatre of Pompeius, which had suffered by an accidental conflagration, while he commenced an amphitheatre of his own on the site of the Septa in the Campus.[1] The great aqueduct which conveyed the waters of the Aqua Claudia to Rome, together with those of the Anio Novus, which were conducted in a separate channel above them, was also designed by Caius, though the work was far too gigantic to be accomplished during his short tenure of power. The furthest point from which these streams were carried was more than fifty-six miles from the city; but for a distance of nearly ten miles the channel was suspended upon an unbroken series of arches, which in some places exceeded an hundred feet in height.[2] This was

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[1] Suet. *Calig.* 21.: Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta . . . . absolvit.

[2] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24. 10.; Frontinus, *de Aquæduct*, 13, 14.; Becker, *Rœm. Alterth.* i. 704.

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reputed in every respect the greatest of all the fine works of this kind executed at Rome; and however needless and extravagant may have been the ostentation displayed in its method of construction, we must not fail to admire the utility of its design. Several works are enumerated which Caius projected for the decoration of the provinces, but of these none perhaps were completed, nor indeed did they deserve to be so[1]; unless we except one of a different kind, the cutting of the Isthmus of Corinth, the expediency of which is so manifest, that it is much to be wondered that among the many projectors who designed, none ever succeeded in effecting it. It is hardly possible to give serious credit to one of the plans ascribed to him, that of building a city in the passes of the Alps. It seems more reasonable to suspect that the people chose thus to caricature some scheme of beneficence — of establishing, for instance, a hospice in the wilderness of snows.[2] The creation of harbours of refuge at Rhegium and on the opposite coast of Sicily for the corn ships which encountered the perils of the Messanian straits was worthy of a prudent government; but though designed and begun, the undertaking languished for lack of funds, and was never completed.[3] The enlargement of the palace of the Cæsars was a freak of Oriental extravagance. From the northern angle of the Palatine hill, where the modest residence of Augustus had overlooked

The imperial palace of Caius.

[1] Suet. l. c.: Destinaverat et Sami Polycratis regiam restituere, Mileti Didymeum peragere. Comp. Dion, lix. 28.

[2] Suet. l. c.: In Alpium jugo urbem condere.

[3] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 2. 5.

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the Forum, Caius extended a series of chambers and arcades to the valley beneath, and made the temple of Castor and Pollux serve as a vestibule to the imperial abode. The emperor, it is said, would frequently take his stand between the statues of the twin Deities, the guardians of the city, and thus exhibit himself for the adoration of the passers by. But he affected to converse with Jupiter himself, enshrined in the temple of the Capitol, and for this purpose he required a readier means of access to the sacred mount. Accordingly he carried a viaduct from the Palatine to the Capitoline, a bold construction, suspended above the buildings of the Velabrum, and designed, we may suppose, to rival the bridge over the Tyropœum at Jerusalem, one of the chief wonders of the Eastern metropolis, of which he had often loved to hear.[1]

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His viaduct across the Velabrum.

That so vast a structure should have been flung boldly across so wide and deep a gorge, and completed within the space of two or three years, may excite our wonder, and almost stagger our belief, yet it may seem still more astonishing that every remnant and vestige of it should have been swept entirely away. It is probable, indeed, that this demolition was consummated within a few years after

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 22.: Super templum Augusti ponte transmisso Palatium Capitoliumque conjunxit. The site of this temple is not known, but it may very well have been at the foot of the Palatine and of the house of Augustus. The width of the valley from crest to crest is above two hundred yards. Pliny takes occasion from this junction of one quarter of the city with another to say, with a bold perversion of language, that Caius *surrounded* Rome with his palace: Bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum Caii et Neronis. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24. 5.

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the first completion of the edifice. But this is only one out of many instances of the promptness with which the great Roman builders overthrew whatever stood in the way of newer and generally still grander designs, and transferred the enormous piles of hewn materials to fresh and often very different destinations. The most remarkable and renowned, however, of the emperor's creations was constructed of far less solid materials, and never intended perhaps to serve any other than a temporary purpose. If we may believe the accounts we have received from various authors, the great bridge of boats which Caius threw across the Baian Gulf from Bauli to Puteoli was a freak of insane vanity, the most extravagant toy, perhaps, that human folly ever invented to sport with one day and cast away the next. Between Baiæ and Bauli, on the western side of this celebrated bay, a spit of land projects a few hundred yards into the sea towards the opposite point of Puteoli, about two miles distant; and this is also nearly the depth of the arc defined by these two prominent headlands. From Puteoli, on the other hand, a mole advanced into the water, built upon arches, the remains of which extend twelve hundred feet; and thus there existed on either side of the bay the rudiments, the one natural the other artificial, of a complete mole or breakwater. It was by a parallel mound or bank at the bottom of this bay that the sea was excluded from the Lucrine lake and the Avernus beyond it. The great work of Agrippa, who converted this lake into a haven by perforating the mound with a

His bridge across the Gulf of Baiæ.

ship-canal, has been noticed in an earlier chapter. It was not beyond the means, nor beyond the bold conception, of a wise and paternal ruler to improve upon this political masterpiece, by the construction of a mole, vast, indeed, as its dimensions must have been both in length and depth, at the entrance of the outer gulf. Such was the principle of the works effected by the steadfast energy of a later emperor, which still exist at Civita Vecchia or Centumcellæ; and the enormous amount of shipping which must have been often collected at Puteoli, as well as the importance of its cargoes, might have justified the expense and grandeur of such an undertaking. But no such purpose can be ascribed to Caius; his object was as selfish as the means he employed were showy and unsubstantial. The ancient legends of the bay ascribed the dyke of the Lucrine, a broad shingle-bank thrown up in the course of ages by the sea, to the creative power of Hercules; and the ambition to vie with the man-god was more powerful with the self-styled divinity, who affected to rival him, than any magnificent conceptions of imperial policy. He ransacked, we are told, the havens far and near to collect every vessel he could lay his hands on, till the commerce of the world was straitened in every quarter, and Italy itself threatened with famine. These vessels he yoked together side by side, in a double line, extending from one shore to the other.[1] Upon this broad and well-

[1] Dion, lix. 17.: ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ λιμὸς ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ μάλιστα ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο. We may be allowed to suspect that this statement is founded upon a remark of Seneca which will hardly bear it out. *De brev. vit.* 18.: Dum ille pontes navibus jungit, et viribus

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compacted base he placed an enormous platform of timber; this again he covered with earth, and paved, after the manner of a military highroad, with stones hewn and laid in cement. The way thus *built* was furnished with numerous stations or post-houses, for the use of which fresh water was conveyed by an aqueduct from the continent.[1] Such, it seems, was this extraordinary bridge: it could never have been intended that it should be permanently retained; it was doubtless necessary to restore the vessels which had been pressed into the service of the emperor's vanity; but he determined before abandoning his work to enact on it a peculiar pageant, the novelty and brilliancy of which should transcend every recorded phantasy of kings or emperors.[2] The venerable seer Thrasyllus had prophesied, it seems, at an earlier period that the young Caius would no more become emperor than he would ever drive his chariot across the gulf of Baiæ.[3] Caius had indeed attained to power,

imperii ludit, aderat . . . . alimentorum egestas. Exitio pœne et fame constitit . . . . superbi regis imitatio. But the scarcity he speaks of occurred at the moment of Caius's death, which was two years later, when there was found, it was said, to be no more than seven or eight days' consumption of corn in the granaries.

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 19.; Dion, lix. 17.; Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 1. The first makes the length 3600 paces, the second 26 stades, the last 30 stades; but the real distance is about two miles.

[2] Suet. l. c.: Novum atque inauditum genus spectaculi excogitavit. Eumenius (*Paneg. in Constant.* 13.) alludes to this pageant, which he calls, in his courtly language, Delicata vectatio principis otiosi. Clinton. *Fast. Rom. Æpp.* p. 5.

[3] Suet. l. c.: Non magis Caium imperaturum quam per Baianum sinum equis discursurum. The author tells us that he had as a boy heard his grandfather mention this, as supposed in the palace to have been the real motive for this whimsical undertaking.

yet the words might still ring ominously in his ears; pride and superstition combined, perhaps, to urge him on, and he declared that he would drive across the bay, not alone in his chariot, but attended by an army, and arrayed as an emperor indeed. The great world of Rome collected on the shores around to witness the imperial miracle. From Puteoli to Misenum the semicircle of the bay was crowded with admiring multitudes; the loungers of the bath and porticoes sallied forth from their cool retreats; the promenaders of the Lucrine beach checked their palanquins and chariots, and hushed the strains of their delicious symphonies; the terraces of the gorgeous villas which lined the coast, and breasted the fresh and sparkling ripple, glittered with streamers of a thousand colours, and with the bright array of senators and matrons, drowning the terrors which day and night beset them in shrieks of childish acclamation. The clang of martial music echoed from shore to shore. From Bauli the emperor descended upon the bridge, — having first sacrificed to the Gods, and chiefly to Neptune and Envy, — arrayed in a coat of mail adorned with precious gems, which had been worn by Alexander the Great, with his sword by his side, his shield on his arm, and crowned with a chaplet of oak-leaves.[1] On horseback, followed by a dense column of soldiers, he traversed the solid footway, and charged into Puteoli as a

[1] Suet. Dion, ll. cc. These sacrifices seem hardly in accordance with Caius's character, but that to Livor or Envy is perhaps significant in connexion with Hercules:

Diram qui contudit Hydram ....
Comperit *invidiam* supremo fine domari.
Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2. 10.

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conquering foe. There he indulged his victorious army with a day of rest and expectation. On the morrow he placed himself in a triumphal car, and drove back exulting, in the garb of a charioteer of the Green at the games of the Circus. The mock triumph was adorned by pretended captives, represented by some royal hostages from Parthia, at the time in custody of the Roman government. The army followed in long procession. In the centre of the bridge the emperor halted, and addressed an harangue to his soldiers on the greatness of their victory from a tribunal erected for the purpose. He contrasted the narrow stream of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, at most seven stades in width, with the broad ocean which he had yoked in chains, and declared that the exploits of Xerxes and Darius were trifles compared with his mightier enterprise.[1] After wearying both himself and his hearers with this prodigious folly, he distributed money among them, and invited them to a banquet. At this entertainment the emperor retained his place on the bridge, but the soldiers were collected around him for the most part in vessels. It extended far into the night, and

[1] It is remarkable that there should be no allusions to this exploit in Pliny or the poets, to whom it might often have furnished an apt illustration; as, for instance, when Juvenal says,

Quidquid *Græcia mendax*
Audet in historia, cum stratum classibus isdem
Suppositumque rotis solidum mare. x. 174.

or Lucan:

Tales fama canit tumidum super æquora Xerxem
Construxisse vias, *multum cum pontibus ausus*
Europamque Asiæ, Sestonque admovit Abydo.
Phars. ii. 672.

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at nightfall the bridge and the ships were illuminated with torches, and at the signal the whole curving line of coast shone forth, as in a theatre, with innumerable lights.[1] Charmed with the stillness of the water, and the brilliancy reflected upon it, the populace crowded round in boats, and partook of the mirth and festivity. But their holiday did not end without a frightful disaster, many of the spectators in the boats or on the bridge being jostled accidentally into the waves. Those who fell, and those who might have saved them, were, it seems, equally intoxicated; the light was uncertain; no one gave, or none received, orders; and the emperor himself, we are told, was overcome with wine: whether drunk or sober, it is not impossible that he enjoyed the horror of the scene, and even forbade assistance to be rendered to the sufferers.[2]

Extravagant luxury of the table.

Among the tasteless extravagances of the day there was none to which the vulgar rich more commonly devoted themselves than that of the table. It was not so much their ambition to

[1] The description of Dion is more than usually vivid: *τοῦ γὰρ χωρίου μηνοειδοῦς ὄντος, πῦρ πανταχόθεν, καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τίνι, ἐδείχθη, ὥστε μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τοῦ σκότου γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν, ὥσπερ που τὴν θάλασσαν γῆν, ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν.* lix. 17.

[2] Suetonius says plainly (*Calig.* 32.): Quum multos e litore invitasset ad se, repente omnes precipitavit. Quosdam gubernacula apprehendentes, contis remisque detrusit in mare. But according to Dion the intoxication was general: *ἐμπλησθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑπερκορὴς καὶ σίτου καὶ βέθης γενόμενος, συχνοὺς μὲν τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἔῤῥιψε, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πλοίοις ἐμβόλους ἔχουσι παραπλεύσας κατέδυσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τίνας· οἱ γὰρ πλείους καίπερ μεθύοντες, ἐσώθησαν.*

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surround themselves with the most graceful or gorgeous appliances of luxury, with richly furnished chambers, with exquisite music, with couches and tables of costly materials and elaborate workmanship, though all these too had their votaries, as to amaze their guests with the extraordinary money value of the articles they managed to consume. It was for their rarity only that nightingales and peacocks, and the tongue and brain of phœnicopters, whatever these creatures may be, could be regarded as delicacies; still less could it give any pleasure to the palate to swallow pearls dissolved in powerful acids. But such was the rampant luxury of Caius, in which he strove to imitate or rather to outdo the Oriental Cleopatra. In this and other particulars of the same kind he succeeded probably in surpassing all previous examples: he contrived, we are assured, to expend the amount of eighty thousand pounds sterling on a single repast; and having effected this, he could say complacently, *a man should be frugal, except he be a Cæsar*.[1] This vehement ambition to be the first in everything he condescended to undertake, extended to many unworthy objects besides gluttony and charioteering. It was a little better directed when the Cæsar presented himself before the senate or the tribunals as an orator, and made perhaps

Caius affects to be an orator.

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 37.: Aut frugi esse hominem oportere aut Cæsarem. Comp. Senec. *Cons. ad Helv.* 9, 11. The famous epicure Apicius, in the reign of Tiberius, was said to have devoured in his career of good living an hundred millions of sesterces, or 800,000*l.*, and to have put an end to his life when he found that he had only ten millions, or 80,000*l.*, left.

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some effort of mind and understanding to deserve the acclamations which were only too sure to follow. On one occasion, at least, a man who had unfortunately incurred his displeasure was saved by sacrificing his own reputation as a speaker to the vanity of his imperial antagonist.[1] But even the victims of tyranny might not always show such forbearance towards it, and Caius, in the midst of the applause with which his genius was greeted, must have frequently felt mortification at the real hollowness of his pretensions. His passion for fame degenerated, as might be expected in so base and selfish a nature, into a brutal envy of the fame of others, and a passion for destroying every well-earned reputation. He caused, we are told, the statues of the heroes of the republic, which Augustus had set up in the Campus, to be overthrown and broken, so that the names could not be restored to the figures they belonged to[2]; after which he issued a decree, which itself was not perhaps unreasonable, though opposed to the most cherished customs of antiquity, that no statue of a living man should be erected, at least without a special authorization from the chief of the state. He proceeded, however, with still more miserable spite to deprive the images of illustrious houses of the insignia by which they were distinguished; as, for instance, the Cincinnati of their ringlets, and

His spite against great reputations of various kinds.

[1] See the story of Domitius Afer in Dion, lix. 19.: ἀπεῖπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀπελογήσατο, θαυμάζειν δὲ δὴ καὶ καταπεπλῆχθαι τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Γαΐου προσποιησάμενος . . . . ἐπήνει.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 34.: Ut restitui salvis titulis non potuerint.

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the Torquati of their golden collars. He forbade the last collateral descendant of the great Pompeius to bear the surname of Magnus; nor would he allow the modest worth of Agrippa to be honoured by placing his effigies, as in the Pantheon and elsewhere, by the side of those of Augustus.[1] Descended himself from this plebeian statesman, he resented his origin as degrading to a Cæsar, and gave it to be understood that he was actually the grandson of Augustus, through an incestuous commerce with the unhappy Julia.[2] He heaped his insensate injuries not less basely upon another description of greatness, in commanding the works of Virgil and Livy to be removed from the public libraries; for the one, he said, had neither genius nor learning, the other was a negligent blunderer.[3] He even threatened to abolish the immortal songs of Homer. *Plato expelled the father of fiction from his state; why*, he asked, *should not I from mine?* With such principles of conduct, or rather with such impulses, it might be expected that the tyrant would deride with a sneer the curious labours of the jurists, and accordingly, we are told, that he proposed not only to abolish the institution of the jurisconsults, but even threatened to annul every existing canon in Rome and

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 23.; Dion, lx. 5.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* l. c.

[3] In this, as in other cases, it seems not impossible that the extravagance imputed to Caius is a blind or wilful perversion of his enemies. A deficiency of invention in Virgil and of accuracy in Livy may surely be admitted by emperor or author without the imputation of unworthy jealousy.

throughout the empire, and make his own word and will the sole measure of law to mankind.[1]

A.D. 39. A.U. 792. Caius really impressed with a notion of his own divinity.

Such were the passionate freaks by which this infatuated being strove to realize to himself the omnipotence which he claimed as Cæsar. In the strange perverted state of religious conceptions at the period, I see no reason to doubt that Caius was really possessed with a vague notion of his own divinity.[2] The gods of those days, if they did not actually touch the earth, flitted, at least, very near to its surface. To partake in some sense or other of the godhead was the dream of philosophers as well as the boast of tyrants. Nor was Caius capable of that lofty irony with which Augustus or Tiberius could look with complacent scorn upon the flatteries of vulgar courtiers. It was not difficult to persuade him of the truth of that which all around him asserted; nor had he sufficient power of reasoning, when any misgiving of the fact obtruded itself, to analyse the idea of divinity, and compare his humanity with it. This is far from the same thing as a conviction of the fact itself. Caius, we may suppose, was, from the feeble constitution of his mind, incapable of a steadfast conviction, or of

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 34.; Philo, *leg. ad Cai.* 17.: *νόμον γὰρ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτὸν, τοὺς τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ νομοθετῶν ὡς κενὰς ῥήσεις ἐλυεν.*

[2] Hoeck, who only wants the faculty of imagination to be an historian of a high class, cannot comprehend the fact of this belief. I am sensible how imperfect is my account of the phenomenon, but I feel no difficulty in crediting it:

> Nihil est quod credere de se
> Non possit cum laudatur Dîs æqua potestas.
>
> Juvenal, iv. 70.

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grasping truth at all. His intellect was passively recipient in such matters: he imbibed the notions suggested to him, and if occasionally he sported with them in the exuberance of his levity, we are not to suppose that he scornfully disbelieved the character with which the world had invested him. The divinity, indeed, which he affected was something very different from the moral inspiration claimed by his predecessors. It was all outward and sensuous. In his passion for scenic representation, he delighted to array himself in the garb of Hercules or Bacchus, or even of Juno and Venus, to brandish the club or the thyrsus, or disguise himself in a female headdress, and enact the part of the deity in the temples or in his private apartments.[1] Whatever god he affected to be, the senate and people shouted vehemently around him, with the admiration of spectators in a theatre rather than the reverence of worshippers.

Systematic persecution of the nobles. A. U. 792. A. D. 39.

The accounts we possess of the principate of Caius have not generally preserved the succession of events in regular order. The building of the bridge is placed by Dion, our only annalist, in 792, and it is probable that the triumphal show was exhibited in the spring of that year. This era is important, as marking apparently the final exhaustion of the ordinary revenues of the state, which sank under this wild paroxysim of extravagance, and required a new development of tyranny to recruit them. From this period we may date the confirmed and systematic persecution of the rich nobility, which gave this reign, not-

[1] Dion, lix. 26.

withstanding all the fair promise of its commencement, a bad preëminence in crime in the eyes of the Roman senate. Hitherto, amidst all his follies or atrocities, Caius had continued still to wear the mask with which he had begun his career, and professed to abominate the conduct of his predecessor and to abjure his policy. The creatures of the Tiberian government, those especially who had made themselves detested by the practice of delation, were still in disgrace; and the vituperation of the late emperor, in which many tongues were now heard to indulge, had been regarded as a passport to the favour of his successor. The senate continued to indulge in this delusion to the last; until Caius, resolved to repair his fortunes by a system of prosecution and confiscation, and to revive in all its horrors the application of the law of majesty, ventured to introduce his new policy by an avowed panegyric on the ruler he had so lately denounced. If we are to believe the historian, he did not pretend to the grace of consistency. *I am Emperor*, he exclaimed, to the amazement of his auditors, *and I may say one thing to-day and the contrary to-morrow: but it is not for you, citizens and subjects, to assail the memory of him who was once your chief.* He then proceeded to enumerate the persons who had perished under Tiberius, and showed, or pretended to show, that in almost every case they had been the victims of the senate rather than of the emperor; some had accused them, others had borne false witness against them, all had combined in voting for their destruction. *Moreover*, he continued, with pitiless logic, *if Tiberius*

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Caius eulogizes the government of Tiberius.

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was in fault, you should not have decreed him honours in his lifetime, or having done so, you should not after his death have annulled them. You it was, senators, he exclaimed, *who swelled the pride of Sejanus by your flatteries, and then destroyed the monster you had yourselves created. You wronged your prince; you murdered his minister: I can look for no good at your hands.* And then he went on to introduce the prosopopœia of Tiberius himself addressing him, approving of all he had said, and recommending him to love none of them, nor to spare any: *for they all hate you, they all wish for your death, and they will kill you if they can. Then look not to pleasing them, nor care for what they say of you; but care only for your own will and pleasure, and provide, as is meet and right, for your own august safety.* At the end of this wild harangue Caius ordained that the laws of majesty should be again enforced, and that they should be graven afresh on brazen tablets. The senate and people trembled, we are told, alike at the visions of terror which were opened to them. The Fathers were at first struck dumb and could make no reply; the next day they met together again to pay servile court to the tyrant. They lauded his speech as a monument of truth and regard to his uncle's memory, thanked him for his mercy in pardoning them and suffering them still to live, and decreed that his words should be recited annually in their hearing, and sacrifices performed to the imperial clemency. To these compliments were added the more ordinary honours of a golden statue, a choral festival, and an ovation.[1]

[1] Dion, lix. 16.

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Bantering humour peculiar to Caius.

It is hardly possible to resist the impression that these proceedings have been represented to us in a grotesque caricature; nor is that impression diminished when we come to examine the details of the persecution which followed. Yet there is a certain consistency in the ghastly banter which equally in the pages of Dion and Suetonius, of Josephus and Philo, forms the peculiar feature in the character of this tyrant among his kindred. The Romans were astounded at the deposition of their consuls from office for neglecting, so little even yet had the etiquette of royalty been established among them, to ordain a festival on the anniversary of the emperor's birthday. They were still more scandalized at three days being suffered to pass without the appointment of their successors, and the republic being left for that interval without its highest magistrates.[1] It seems, however, that Caius assigned another motive for the disgrace of these consuls. They had kept holyday for the victory of Augustus over Antonius. Now Augustus was the grandfather of the emperor's mother Agrippina; but, on the other hand, Antonius bore the same relation to his father Germanicus; and we are told that he had whimsically declared beforehand, that, whether they mourned or feasted on the occasion, he would convict them equally of treason.[2] Even

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 26.: Consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrogavit magistratum, fuitque triduo sine summa potestate respublica.

[2] Dion (lix. 20.) places this event under the year 792. Caius commenced it as consul with L. Apronius. He laid down the office himself after thirty days, and was succeeded by Sanquinius. Apronius held the office six months. It does not appear who were the unfortunate consuls who suffered from this frolic. One of them put

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when the cupidity of the ever needy despot demanded the blood of the wealthiest senators, he could still make sport of his own tyranny. Thus we read that when, on the condemnation and death of Junius Priscus, his wealth was found to fall much below the anticipated amount, the emperor affected to regret that his victim had deceived him, and thrown away his own life through want of candour. The condemnation at this time of L. Annæus Seneca, distinguished at a later period as one of the chief of Roman philosophers, seems to show that he had become already noted for the riches which have thrown some slur upon his reputation as a teacher of wisdom. He was saved by an assurance conveyed by a friend to the emperor that he was already far advanced in a decline, and that his possessions might soon be grasped without even the trouble of a prosecution. Caius had devised various means for drawing into his coffers the estates of the rich nobles on their deaths. In this case the accused was allowed, perhaps, to compound for life by bequeathing his property to the emperor, and sacrificing on the altar of his Clemency. It is to this insatiable cupidity that we may, perhaps, ascribe an act of cruelty, which, as it is represented to us, seems such a mere ferocious caprice that we

Massacre of the exiles.

himself to death from mortification; but, as Caius's birthday was August 31. and the battle of Actium Sept. 2., we must conclude that the deposition took place in September. Dion goes on to say that Caius hereupon resumed the consulship, abolished the Comitia, and appointed Domitius Afer his colleague. But as he went into Gaul, as we shall see, this same year with the avowed object of engaging in a campaign, for which the season must have been very far advanced in October, the story is liable to some suspicion.

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should hesitate to believe it of any but a confirmed madman. I can only give the story in the words of Philo, and leave it to the reader to form his own conclusions upon it. *Caius, they say, lying one night sleepless, began to think of the noble exiles in the islands, and how, though nominally suffering pains and penalties, they were actually enjoying a life of ease, quiet, and luxury: "What sort of exile," he said to himself, "is this foreign sojourn of theirs, revelling as they do in abundance of all good things, and living in a pleasant retirement the lives of true philosophers?" And thereupon he issued orders to put the most illustrious of them to death, Flaccus, the late prefect of Alexandria, being first on the list.* It would seem at least from this anecdote, as has been elsewhere intimated, that the ordinary condition of the exiles was one of considerable indulgence, and that they were allowed the enjoyment of their fortunes. That the emperor should have caused some of the wealthiest to be executed upon very trifling pretexts in order to seize on their possessions seems only too probable.[1]

The populace alienated by taxation.

But the imperial spendthrift put no curb upon his lavish prodigality, and his necessities became more and more urgent continually. Had he limited his demands for plunder to the class of the wealthy aristocracy, he might have still retained the favour of the populace, upon whose amuse-

[1] Philo, *in Flacc.* sub fin. Comp. Dion, lix. 18. and Suet. *Calig.* 28., who gives a still finer point to the story. Revocatum quendam a vetere exilio sciscitatus, quidnam ibi facere consuesset, respondente eo per adulationem, Deos semper oravi ut, quod evenit, periret Tiberius et tu imperares; opinans sibi quoque exules suos mortem imprecari, misit circum insulas qui universos contrucidarent.

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ments so much of his ill-gotten riches was expended; but when, in order to provide a more certain and constant flow of gold into his coffers, he ventured to smite the mass of the citizens with new or increased taxation, he converted the whole Roman people into an enemy, and stood from thenceforth naked in the eyes of history, without friend or apologist. The conquering nation still retained, whatever else it had lost, excessive jealousy of taxation, which it blindly confounded with tribute. It was still the privilege of the Roman, whatever other distinctions he had surrendered, to be exempt from the imposts of the state. It was still the fiction of the commonwealth that the Roman paid in personal service the contribution for the support of his empire, which was commuted to the subject provincial for money. But in fact, at this time, the citizen was using every endeavour to escape both from one burden and the other, and the light taxation which Augustus had already imposed upon him barely compensated for the general relaxation of his civil and military obligations. It might have been the wish of a wise and benevolent ruler to equalize the burdens of the empire by bringing Italy under the same fiscal yoke as the provinces. But neither Augustus nor Tiberius had ventured to levy custom on the commerce or productions of that favoured spot; and the decree by which Caius now imposed a rate upon imports at the harbours on the coast, and at the gates of the cities in the interior, and even of Rome itself, must be taken as a token of caprice or tyranny rather than of an equitable intelligence.

Yet it might not be unreasonable to suppose that the fees he exacted from suitors before the tribunals were intended to improve the position of the judges, and render the course of justice more pure; and even the tax he is said to have imposed upon prostitution may have been meant as a measure of policy and outward decorum. It is easy to understand the outcry it would raise, and the gross charges which it might suggest against the emperor himself.[1] It was believed that, among less innocent contrivances for raising his revenues, he had actually succeeded in making gold, of excellent quality, but so little in quantity as not to defray the expense of the manufacture.[2] It is not improbable that he attained the same end by debasing the currency.[3] The delight with which he contemplated the gold he thus amassed was represented as something monstrous and insane: it was affirmed that at times he would cause it to be spread in vast heaps upon the floor, and wade in it with bare feet, or throw himself down and roll frantically upon it.[4] Whatever favour he may have once enjoyed with the populace from the splendour of the shows with which he indulged them, — a favour which was already, perhaps, beginning to wane from satiety, and even from disgust, — it was now speedily swallowed up by a feeling of indignation and resentment. The universal selfishness which

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 40.

[2] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 22.

[3] Thus we find that, Emptum plus minus asse Caïano, was an expression for anything particularly worthless. Stat. *Sylv.* iv. 9. 22. The copper coinage of Caius was called in by his successor. Dion, lx. 22.

[4] Suet. *Calig.* 42.

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he had so long pampered turned in a mass against him. The citizens refused to follow in the theatre his signal to applaud or to condemn: they beheld with indifference the feats of the imperial athlete himself; the shows and games, which they had regarded almost as their daily food, ceased at last to attract them [1]; and it was probably in vexation at this sullen yet passive disobedience, which baffled both his menaces and caresses, that he uttered his well-known exclamation, accompanied no doubt with the significant gesture by which he intimated his cruel will to his headsmen, *Would that the people of Rome had but one neck!* [2]

Caius undertakes an expedition against the Germans. A. D. 39. A. U. 792.

We may place the mummery of the Baian triumph in the spring or early summer of 792, the season when the Campanian coast was most thronged with lounging and gazing multitudes, and which on that account would most probably be chosen for the emperor's grand act of self-glorification. This, we are told, was promptly followed by the fiercest access of his tyranny and the increasing exactions which his exhausted treasury required. But nearly at the same moment Caius, — I am following at present implicitly the accounts we have received, — pretended to have a nobler object in

[1] We shall the less wonder at this self-restraint on their part if we accept literally the story of Suetonius, that he amused himself sometimes by causing the awning in the circus to be withdrawn, and forbidding the scorched spectators from retiring. It must be remembered, however, that as the circus was never more than partially veiled, a large portion of the multitude must have always been exposed to the heat of the sun. Suet. *Calig.* 26.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 30. 32. Comp. Senec. *Apocolocynt.* 6.: Gestu illo solutæ manus . . . . quo decollare homines solebat.

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view. On making a progress to the Clitumnus, two or three days' journey from Rome, in the autumn of the same year, he remarked how slender was the number of his escort of Batavian horsemen, and the thought came suddenly into his head that the battalion might be recruited by a successful incursion into the German territories. He announced that the barbarians were encroaching on the Roman frontiers, and required his powerful arm to check them; but his mind was speedily filled with visions of the vast sums he might extort from the provincials both of Gaul and Spain, to replenish his treasury, and slake his craving thirst for gold. From the Clitumnus, accordingly, he set out, apparently without even returning to Rome; the legions and auxiliaries he required for his expedition were directed with all speed to follow. For his own part his march was irregular and intermittent; sometimes so rapid that his guards could hardly keep up with him, even though they laid their colours on the backs of their animals; sometimes, again, so tardy and deliberate that he was borne himself on men's shoulders, and the cities through which he was to pass were required to sweep the roads and lay the dust before him.[1] He was attended throughout by a train of players and gladiators, dancers and women, the vile retinue of a Parthian sovereign. On reaching the camp on the Rhine, he displayed his sense of discipline by

[1] Suetonius (*Calig.* 43.) speaks of this expedition as a sudden thought, which is quite consistent with the character before us. Dion (lix. 21.) differs upon this and other minor points; but in general the two accounts agree remarkably.

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animadverting with severity on the officers whose contingents were slow in arriving at head quarters: some whose term of service was on the point of expiring, he degraded, on the pretext of their age and infirmities, and reduced the pay or pensions of the veterans to one half of the sum guaranteed them.[1] But after all there was no enemy to chastise; and the young warrior devised the expedient of sending a few captives across the river, and placing them in concealment, while the alarm was sounded in the prætorium that the foe was at hand. Thereupon, rising hastily from table with his guests, he galloped, attended only by a few body-guards, into the wood, dispersed the pretended adversaries, plucked some branches from the trees, and suspended upon them the trophies of his victory: then returning, he upbraided the legions which had lagged behind, and rewarded his companions with a new kind of military chaplet, in which the sun, moon, and stars were represented, and to which he gave the name of *the crown exploratory*. But enough of this mummery. The pretended victory, we are told, was duly notified in a laurelled letter to the senate; and the Fathers were petulantly upbraided for indulging in their banquets, their baths and theatres, while their emperor was exposing his august person to the darts of the barbarians. At the same time the submission of a fugitive prince from Britain was accepted and blazoned forth as the capitulation of the whole island.

Explanation of the fore-

To me indeed it seems impossible to mistake the spirit of caricature in which these accounts are

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 44.

written; and even had we no clue to a better understanding of the circumstances, I should be little disposed to place implicit confidence in them. But it will be remembered how, towards the close of the principate of Tiberius, the command of the legions on the Rhine was left by him reluctantly in the hands of a chief whom he had not the courage to dispossess. Lentulus Gætulicus had defied the emperor, and the emperor had succumbed to his menaces. Tiberius was old and timid, and satisfied perhaps that the obedience of the legions would at least last his own time: but Caius partook neither of his fears nor his confidence. The relaxation of discipline by his legate had given occasion to attacks on the part of the Germans. But it was much more dangerous to the imperator, as a token of independence on the part of his own officer; and it was with the bold determination, as I conceive, to put down this rising spirit in person, that Caius, under pretence of defending the frontiers, left Rome for Gaul, to defend himself and his imperial authority. In daring Caius was not deficient; perhaps he had not sense enough fairly to estimate the dangers which beset him. But at such a crisis daring was the best wisdom, and the apparition of the redoubted emperor in the midst of a disaffected camp, together with some examples of sternness, which showed that he was not to be trifled with, may have actually saved the state from a bloody and bootless revolution.

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A.D. 39. A.U. 792. going narrative.

The senators, in the tyrant's absence, to return to the narrative before us, were indulging in a happy respite from their troubles, and had wil-

Caius at Lugdunum.

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lingly offered vows in the temples for every success he could desire, and recommended the provinces to follow their example.[1] As the season drew to a close the emperor repaired to Lugdunum, the spot from which Augustus and Germanicus had directed the administration of the country, and conducted its census. From hence he issued requisitions to the states and cities for extraordinary contributions, and devised various methods of extorting money from the nobles. Offences against the state were investigated and multiplied, and punishment only redeemed by the payment of heavy fines. So well was he satisfied, it would seem, by these experiments of the actual riches of his Gaulish subjects, that he conceived an extraordinary plan for diverting a large portion of them, with little risk or trouble, into his coffers. Orders were despatched to Rome to transmit to Lugdunum the costly furniture and decorations of some of the imperial residences. These it was determined to sell by auction, and it was expected that the vanity of the admiring natives would induce them to pay profusely for objects of such peculiar interest. The precious goods arrived, transported by innumerable carriages and beasts of burden, the requisition for which sufficed for a time to cripple the industry of Italy; and Caius himself, as auctioneer, explained and eulogized

1 Suet. *Calig.* 45. Philo, alluding to these religious ceremonies, describes them not as thanksgivings for victories gained, but as vows for future successes. Comp. *leg. ad Cai.* in a passage already referred to (c. 45.): *καὶ γὰρ ἐθύσαμεν . . .* say the Jewish envoys . . . *πρῶτον μὲν . . . τρίτον δὲ, κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς νίκης.*

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the several articles, and urged his courtiers to bid furiously against each other. *This*, he said, *is a vase or statue which Antonius sent from Egypt; that is a gem or picture which Augustus brought with him from the East; this was a trophy of my father's; this was a trinket of my mother's.*[1] Such a recommendation was of course felt as a command, and the sale proceeded gloriously. The sums, however, thus amassed were flung the next moment away. A large portion of them was spent in a donative to the Gallic legions; not less perhaps was squandered upon the games which were now solemnized in the Gallic capital. The provincial nobles had already instituted gymnastic games in honour of Augustus, which were enacted before his altar: the lively genius of the nation had begun to emulate the literary efforts of Greece and Rome, and contests in eloquence and versification held a prominent place in these exhibitions. Whatever might be the merit of these trials of wit and fancy, Caius, with the low humour natural to him, proceeded to degrade them by the unseemly penalties he inflicted upon the unsuccessful competitors, some of whom were required to obliterate their compositions with their tongues, unless they preferred to be cast headlong into the furious waters of the Rhone.[2]

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Whatever were the freaks of cruelty or folly with which the tyrant actually disgraced his sojourn among the Gauls, yet if we view the enter-

Conspiracy against Caius.

[1] Dion, lix. 21.; Suet. *Calig.* 39.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 20. Comp. the allusion of Juvenal: Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram (i. 44.).

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Execution of Gætulicus and Lepidus, and disgrace of Livia and Agrippina.

prise in the light in which I have ventured to place it, as a bold stroke of defensive policy, we shall be disposed to look with some indulgence upon the bloody executions with which it is said to have been attended. Whether it be the case that Gætulicus resented the intrusion of his chief into the camp by conspiring against his life and power, or whether the sentence of death which now descended upon him was only a tyrant's measure of precaution, there can be little doubt that the position he occupied was incompatible with the dignity or safety of the imperial throne. There seems, however, strong ground to surmise that he laid himself open to the blow by an act of direct provocation. Caius was accompanied into Gaul by his surviving sisters, and by some of the habitual companions of his pleasures among the nobility of Rome. Of these none was so conspicuous as M. Æmilius Lepidus, the youthful minion before mentioned, whom he had united to Drusilla, and whom, as was generally believed, he had intended to associate with her in succession to the empire. The weakness of the emperor's health, and his late severe illness, might have seemed for a moment to bring this splendid inheritance almost within the reach of the fortunate aspirant. The sceptre of the world, for which the Æmilii had so often contended, seemed about to descend into his grasp. But the death of his patron's favourite sister suddenly obscured the prospect. Still doomed to a private station, he continued perhaps to brood over the disappointment of his hopes; and it is not improbable that the charge now advanced against Lepidus, of intriguing with Julia or Agrip-

pina, or even with both at once, and of combining with them to supplant and overthrow the ruler of the state, was in fact substantially true. The authority and abilities of Gætulicus, if gained to their side, would lend strength to the blow; and discontented as he probably was, and perhaps alarmed for his own safety, nothing is more likely than that the legatus was drawn, as some accounts represented, into their conspiracy. Such at least was the statement which the emperor caused to be circulated among the citizens. The secret of the plot was betrayed, and its leaders seized and cut off in Gaul, at the end of the year 792. The guilty sisters were condemned to banishment, and Agrippina was compelled to carry the urn containing her paramour's ashes in her bosom on foot to Rome. In the account of this affair which Caius transmitted to the senate for publication in the capital, he disclosed without reserve every particular of their wanton and shameless lives; though the Romans were fully persuaded that, however vicious they had proved themselves, the brother had been their seducer, and the partner of their worst iniquities. At the same time he sent three swords, which he declared had been intended for his assassination, with directions that they should be suspended as votive offerings in the temple of Mars the Avenger. As his sisters, at his desire, had received many honourable distinctions from the senate, he enjoined that in future no such extraordinary marks of favour should be conferred on any of his own relations.[1]

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 24.; *Claud.* 9.; Dion, lix. 22.

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An ovation decreed on the suppression of this conspiracy.

On receiving their master's account of the flagrant conspiracy he had detected, and the danger from which he had relieved the state by its discovery, the senators had hastened to send a deputation to convey to him their humble congratulations, and offer him the honours of an ovation: but he complained of the number of the envoys as beneath the importance of the occasion, and of the ovation as unworthy of so great an achievement; he treated his visitors as spies, and particularly resented the mission of Claudius, who accompanied them, as sent to direct and admonish him with the authority of an uncle. He was on the Rhine at the time of their arrival; and it was said that, in his ill-humour, he even suffered Claudius to be thrown into the stream. Great was the terror which this reception of the envoys created at Rome, where the most dire apprehensions already reigned of the proscriptions which might be expected to follow upon the recent disclosures. The furious caprices of the emperor were manifested again in his sudden repudiation of Lollia Paulina, whom he accused of sterility, and the immediate advancement of Milonia Cæsonia, a woman with whom he was known to have been for some time connected, to the perilous honour of his hand. This woman, whose name was long held in detestation by the Romans, is represented to us as neither young nor handsome; but it was believed that she had attracted and retained the interest of her lover by the use of philtres, which contributed to unsettle his mind, and render him more unreasonable and intractable than ever.

Caius marries Milonia Cæsonia.

Cæsonia had borne three children to a former husband, and was far advanced in pregnancy at the time of this marriage. When, however, a daughter was born to him within a month of the nuptial solemnity, Caius did not scruple to acknowledge the child as actually his own, to carry it to the temples of the Gods, to lay it in the lap of Minerva, and to give it the Cæsarean appellation of Julia Drusilla.[1] A.D. 39. A.U. 792.

Caius assumes a third consulship, A.D. 40., A.U. 793.

From Gaul Caius had announced to the senate that he was about to assume the consulship for the third time at the commencement of 793 at Lugdunum, and had at the same time indicated the person whom he required it to accept as his colleague. But this person happening to die a few days before the first day of January, the Fathers were thrown into perplexity, the tribunes and prætors not venturing to convene the senate on their own responsibility while there was still a consul absent from the city. They rushed tumultuously to the Capitol, and performed the customary sacrifices, not omitting to prostrate themselves before the emperor's vacant chair, and lay upon it the new year's presents, which, from the time of Augustus, the Cæsars had been wont to accept on these

[1] Dion, lix. 23, 28.; Suet. *Calig.* 25.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 1. Suetonius goes on to assure us that the emperor was the more convinced that the child was his own, by the ferocity it showed from its birth, attacking with its nails the eyes and countenances of its playfellows. It should be observed that Dion speaks its being carried to the Capitol; but it is clear that the marriage and birth took place in Gaul. The confusion in Dion's chronology of this reign is very great.

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solemn occasions. When this was done, they repaired of their own accord to the Senate-house, and, neglecting all state affairs, consumed the day in complimentary harangues and fulsome adulation of the tyrant. On the third day they recovered somewhat of their presence of mind. The prætors constituted themselves a commission for conducting the business of the senate, and convened it in the usual form. Nevertheless, such was the abject terror in which it lay, that it did not venture to proceed to any matters of administration till it was announced that Caius had abdicated his functions on the twelfth day, and that the consuls designate were at liberty to ascend their chairs of office. The first act of the senate under their presidency was to decree that the birthdays of Caius and Drusilla should be solemnized with the same honours as that of Augustus; but their countrymen excused this fresh manifestation of baseness, by asserting that it was only made in compliance with an express command.[1] The fears of the bewildered nobles were more particularly excited at this moment by the report that their persecutor was attended in Gaul by a retinue of foreign princes, such as Agrippa and Antiochus of Commagene, who, as they apprehended, were busily instructing him in the arts of Eastern sovereignty; and the fact of his having summoned Ptolemæus, son of Juba, king of Mauretania, to his presence, and put him to death for the sake of his riches, caused gloomy forebodings among such of

and resigns on the twelfth day.

[1] Dion, lix. 24.

the patricians at home as still retained their much-coveted possessions.[1]

A D. 40. A. U. 793. The "British expedition" of Caius.

The conspiracy had been detected, the disloyal punished; the legions, warned by the fate of their contumacious chief, were transferred to Servius Galba, by whom discipline was enforced with pristine severity. Furloughs were withheld, the labours of the camp were redoubled, the soldiers were taught both to work and to fight, and to feel the difference between a dissolute intriguer in the prætorium and a stern warrior of the ancient stamp. When they ventured, in the relaxation of a camp-spectacle, to applaud him, he drily rebuked their unwarrantable freedom with the order to keep their hands under their cloaks.[2] The winter of 793 was occupied in preparations for a descent upon Britain, and the military season was opened by the emperor's advance from Lugdunum, or from the Rhine, to the shores of the channel. The troops which he had assembled in Gaul are said to have been exceedingly numerous; the enterprise he had in view was nothing less than the complete reduction of the island, the submission of which had been promised him by a recent fugitive. At Gessoriacum the legions were collected in great force. While awaiting the moment of embarkation, they were directed one day to take up a military position on the beach; horse and foot were drawn up in battle

[1] Dion, l. c.; Suet. *Calig.* 26. Ptolemæus was son of Juba by Cleopatra Selene, daughter of M. Antonius. He was, therefore, the grandson, Caius the great grandson, of the triumvir.

[2] Suet. in *Galb.* 6.: A Caio Cæsare Gætulico substitutus, postridie quam ad legiones venit, solenni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit, data tessera ut manus pœnulis continerent.

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array fronting the waves of the ocean, and the vast armament of catapults and other engines of war was arrayed on their flanks, or in the rear, as if prepared for immediate engagement. Caius himself reviewed his army from a trireme at sea; then landed and placed himself on a lofty tribunal, as about to give the signal for battle. Suddenly, amidst the clang of trumpets and measured voices of the centurions, the order issued to pile arms and pick up shells, with which every man hastened to fill his helmet and laid them at the emperor's feet. Collected into a vast heap together, these *spoils of the ocean*, as Caius described them, were sent to Rome, and the senate was directed to deposit them with due solemnity among the treasures of the palace and Capitol. In token of this pretended victory, the emperor, we are told, caused a light-house to be erected to guide vessels by night into the harbour; and the campaign being thus auspiciously terminated, he presented the men with a largess of a hundred sesterces apiece, and, as if this liberality had exceeded all previous examples, bade them retire, *glad and rich*, from his presence.[1] The good fortune which has given us a clue to the real proceedings of Caius on the Rhine, through the mists of malicious misrepresentation, seems here wholly to desert us. Yet I hesitate to believe that the *British expedition*, as it was sarcastically denominated, was such a monstrous farce as it has been described to us. The erection of a light-

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 46.; Dion, lix. 25. Compare the references to this affair in Tacitus (*Agric.* 13., *German.* 37.): Mox ingentes Caii Cæsaris minæ in ludibrium versæ.

house indicates at least an intelligent purpose, and cannot have been a mere whimsical fancy. Possibly Caius was diverted from a real intention of attacking Britain by some act of submission, from which he anticipated the opening of freer and more regular communications with the natives. Even the picking of shells may be a grotesque misrepresentation of receiving a tribute of Rutupian pearls.

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Nevertheless, whatever distrust we may feel of the burlesque account of this exploit transmitted to us, there can be no doubt that the claim Caius now advanced to a triumph, as for a glorious success, was utterly extravagant; nor is it incredible that the tricks with which he is said to have given colour to it, were hardly less absurd than they are described to have been. Seven times, he declared, the army had acknowledged his victories by saluting him as Imperator. The British chief Adminius, who had solicited his aid to restore him to power in his own land, was retained, he said, as a pledge of the submission of the barbarians. He had placed his foot upon the ocean, and reduced it to dependence for ever. Accordingly he issued orders to the managers of the imperial revenues to prepare a triumph on the most magnificent scale that had ever yet been attempted; but at the same time he directed them not to lavish upon it the treasures of the fiscus, but to extort the requisite sums from the citizens and provincials, for which purpose he gave them full authority over the property of all his subjects. Meanwhile he collected together, for the lack of veritable captives, a few German slaves or fugitives, or hired the tallest and

Caius claims a triumph.

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bulkiest of the Gauls themselves, causing them to dye their hair red and let it grow, to acquaint themselves with the language of the tribes beyond the Rhine, and assume German appellations.[1] To make the intended ceremony still more imposing, he directed the galleys in which he had put to sea to be impelled against the stream of the Rhine to its furthest navigable point, and thence drawn overland to the rivers of Gaul, and thus conveyed to Rome. The legions were wafted by this circuitous course more expeditiously, perhaps, than they could have marched by land; and Caius led them throughout in person, and visited on his way the stations on the Lower Rhine, in which his father had planted his tent, and with which his own childhood had been familiar. Possibly he conferred here with Galba on the last measures he might require to punish the designs of Gætulicus, and his harsh and violent temper may have prompted him to a more bloody inquisition, than he found it, on reflection, prudent to enforce. But the report that he now remembered the mutiny of certain legions against Germanicus, and the expulsion of Agrippina from the camp, with himself an infant in her arms, and proposed in his fury to massacre, after twenty-five years' interval, the

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 47.: Coegitque non tantum rutilare et submittere comam, sed et sermonem Germanicum addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre. Compare the evident allusion to this trick, real or imputed, in Persius, vi. 45.: Jam lutea gausapa captis, Essedaque, ingentesque locat Cæsonia Rhenos. But after all the captives of Caius were never, perhaps, exhibited in Rome at all; and we have in Tacitus a similar account of an imposture practised, as he assures us, at a later period by Domitian (*Agric.* 39.). Possibly the habit of wearing false flaxen hair had made the citizens suspicious of the genuine.

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whole of the battalions which bore their name, and when dissuaded from this bloody purpose was only deterred by his fears from decimating them, seems too extravagant for belief.[1]

Caius returns to Rome.

It has been recorded how, when Augustus was journeying simply habited among the Alps, a Gaul who had designed to attack him was restrained by the imposing majesty of his countenance.[2] Far different was the impression which the stage-divinity of Caius made upon the rude minds of the provincials. One of them, beholding him on his tribunal glittering with the insignia of Jove, was seen to smile: the emperor demanded what he thought of him; *I think you a great absurdity*, was the blunt reply. Possibly the imperial mummer at the moment had been thinking the same; at all events, his sense of humour was touched, and the man being no better than a low artificer, he allowed him to escape unpunished.[3] He reserved all his anger for the nobles and senators, who, it seems, not venturing to decree honours to him after their late ungracious reception, and apprehensive lest his claim to congratulation on his maritime successes might prove no more than a grim jest, had neglected to invite him to enter the city in triumph.

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 48.: Consilium iniit nefandæ atrocitatis legiones . . . contrucidandi . . . . vixque a tam præcipiti cogitatione revocatus inhiberi nullo modo potuit quin decimare velle perseveraret. Vocatos itaque ad concionem inermes . . . . equitatu armato circumdedit. Sed quum videret suspecta re plerosque dilabi ad resumenda . . . . arma profugit concionem, &c. Notwithstanding the particularity of this account, I must reject the whole as incredible.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 79.

[3] Dion, lix. 26.: καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐρῶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ λεχθὲν, ὅτι μέγα παραλήρημα· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι δεινὸν ἔπαθε, σκυτότομος γὰρ ἦν.

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I am coming, he exclaimed, *I am coming — but not for the senate — for the knights and people who alone deserve my presence among them. For the senate I will neither be a prince nor a citizen, but*, clapping his hand on his sword, *an imperator and a conqueror.* He then forbade any of the order to come forth to meet him, and waiving the offer of a triumph, which they had too long withheld from him, entered the city with the solemnity of an ovation only, and scattered money to the populace. His return took place on his birthday, the last day of August, in the year 793.[1]

Caius finally avows himself a tyrant and autocrat.

The last, and in the eyes of the Romans themselves the most abominable, phase of the Caian tyranny remained still to be developed. They had witnessed his assumption of divinity with a smile; and even the rivalry he had affected with the Jupiter of the Capitol, whose thunders he pretended to imitate, and with the tale of whose parricide and incest he had met the imputation of similar crimes against himself, had excited no other feeling, perhaps, but one of languid amusement.[2] The selfish cowardice with which the nobles had beheld the cruelties inflicted upon so many of their own class, without raising a hand, or even a murmur, on their behalf, amazing as it seems to us at first sight, may be accounted for by the utter distrust of one another, with which the system of delation had gene-

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 49.

[2] Aurel. Vict. *de Cæsar.* 4.: Cum Jovem se ob incestum .... assereret. Comp. Dion, lix. 26.: Ζεύς τε εἶναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γυναιξὶν ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μάλιστα συνεῖναι προεφασίσατο.

rally imbued them. The people growled with indignation at the unwonted exactions imposed upon them; nevertheless, they could not long resist the seductions of new shows and largesses. The style and character of the principatè had been coloured indeed more and more by the arbitrary usages of Eastern monarchy; no rule or privilege could continue to hold its ground against the will of the prince, whose caprices could be enforced with the naked sword by a devoted body-guard. But it was not till he entered Rome in the garb of an Imperator, and made the Forum his camp and the palace his prætorium,—it was not till he brandished the fasces in the eyes of the citizens, and subjected them to military law,—that Caius really appeared to Roman imaginations as a Pisistratus or a Tarquin. From this time the die was cast, and he finally abandoned all the decorous fictions of the republic. He avowed himself a tyrant, and continued from henceforth to wear the outward ensigns of autocracy without scruple.[1] He can hardly have been unconscious that this overt act of usurpation would raise up to him more dangerous enemies than all his previous atrocities.[2]

[1] Aurel. Victor, *Cæsar.* 4.: His elatus dominum dici, atque insigne regni capiti nectere tentaverat. In the Epitome the same author asserts that Caius actually wore the diadem. Suetonius, in a passage before referred to, says that he was very near assuming it, and only desisted on the assurance that he had risen above the highest eminence of kings and sovereigns. *Calig.* 22.

[2] Josephus mentions, among the atrocities of Caius which gave the greatest offence, his allowing slaves to lay informations against their masters. *Antiq.* xix. i. 2. Another provocation was the report that he meditated transferring the seat of empire to Alexandria or Antium, his birthplace. Suet. *Calig.* 49.

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Another Caius had perished by the dagger, and such was the fate which he must have apprehended for himself. But the disdain he felt for the wretched people he had trampled upon, seems to have fortified his courage. When a plot against his life was discovered by the treachery of one of the conspirators, and the persons implicated in it tried to save themselves by denouncing some of the emperor's most familiar associates, such as the captain of his guards, and his favourite freedman Callistus, he went up boldly to the accused, bared his breast, and offered them a sword to take his life if they really desired it.[1] This, at least, was not the act of a coward, such as Caius is generally represented; nor, it may be added, in spite of many furious declamations against him, can we charge him with bloody severity in revenging this attempt upon his person. Cerialis, the leader of the conspiracy, though put to the question to reveal its extent, was suffered to escape with his life, to perish many years after in a similar enterprise against another master.[2]

Conspiracy against him detected.

Crowning extravagance of the Caian principate.

The senate, however, seized the occasion to recover their master's favour by decreeing solemn games for his preservation, and by offering him a seat in the Curia so far elevated above the floor that his person should be inaccessible to an assail-

[1] Zonaras, xi. 6.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 17. The language of Seneca in his treatise on Anger (*de ira*, 19.) strongly exemplifies the baneful passion against which he preaches. It is impossible to attach much importance to denuntiations, the climax of which is that Caius allowed some of his victims to be executed at night. Quid tam inauditum quam nocturnum supplicium? . . . quantulum fuit lucem exspectare!

ant.[1] This anxiety to place him as it were beyond their own reach may indicate that the intended attack upon him, like that upon Julius Cæsar, was to have been effected in the Senate-house, and that the consent of the whole body of senators to the deed was fully calculated upon. In the face of such evidence of the general detestation in which he was held, Caius still relied upon disarming his foes by inspiring them with mutual jealousy and distrust. Shrinking from combination and almost from conversation with one another, they vied in the abject court they paid to the tyrant, or the vilest of his creatures. Among the foremost of these was a freedman named Protogenes, who was said to carry about with him two tablets, inscribed *the Sword* and *the Dagger*, which contained the names of the persons destined, the one to execution, perhaps, the other to assassination.[2] Whenever this noted delator entered the Senate-house, the Fathers crowded round to take him obsequiously by the hand. On seeing a certain Scribonius Proculus thus coming forward to greet him, *What!* he exclaimed, *durst thou salute me, enemy as thou art to Cæsar?* and at the word the senators fell upon the wretched man and stabbed him to death with their styles.[3] Such an instance of slavish

[1] Dion, lix. 26.

[2] Dion, l. c. Suetonius (*Calig.* c. 49.) says that these γράμματα λυγρά were discovered among the emperor's papers after his death. At the same time a chest was also found, filled with a great variety of poisons, the power and qualities of which were carefully marked, as ascertained by experiment. When they were thrown into the sea, the fishes perished far and near.

[3] Dion, l. c.

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pusillanimity might reassure the emperor in the midst of the dangers by which he was actually environed. He indulged more freely, perhaps, than ever in the notion of his own omnipotence, and rioted in the fantastic caprices to which such a notion seemed always to prompt him. One day, at a public banquet, when the consuls were reclining by his side, he burst suddenly into a fit of laughter; and when they courteously desired to know the cause of his mirth, astounded them by coolly replying that he was thinking how by one word he could cause both their heads to roll on the floor.[1] He amused himself with similar banter even with his wife Cæsonia, for whom he seems to have had a stronger feeling than for any other of his consorts. While fondling her neck he is reported to have said, *Fair as it is, how easily I could sever it.*[2]

Conspiracy of Cassius Chærea.

But the end of this monstrous principate, not yet four years old, was already drawing nigh; and, if we may believe the accounts we have received, the tyrant's overthrow was due not to abhorrence of his crimes or indignation at his assaults upon the Roman liberties, so much as to resentment at a private affront. Among the indiscretions which seem to indicate the partial madness of the wretched Caius was the caprice with which he turned from his known foes against his personal friends and familiars. Thus he sacrificed to a freak of ill-humour the tragedian Apelles, the companion of

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 32.: Quid nisi uno meo nutu jugulari utrumque vestrum statim posse?

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 33.: Tam bona cervix simul ac jussero demetetur.

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his pleasures, and instigator of many of his excesses. No one felt himself secure, neither the freedmen who attended on his person, nor the guards who watched over his safety. Among these last was Cassius Chærea, tribune of a prætorian cohort, whose shrill woman's voice provoked the merriment of his master, and subjected him to injurious insinuations.[1] Even when he demanded the watchword for the night the emperor would insult him with words and gestures. Chærea resolved to wipe out the affront in blood. He sought Callistus and others, the same apparently who had before been accused of conspiring against Caius, and who had lived in apprehension ever since. He soothed the jealousies which Caius had sown between them, persuaded them to trust one another in their common peril, and organized with them and some of the most daring of the nobles a plot against the life of the emperor. Yet this was not a conspiracy of the senate: it had no consular or prætor at its head, nor had it any ulterior project in view. There was no design of sacrificing the tyrant in the Senate-house, and proclaiming tyranny at an end. From want of resolution the deed was postponed from day to day, and not portents only, but some treacherous whispers may have warned the emperor to *beware of Cassius!* A woman named Quintilia, the mistress of one of the conspirators, refused under torture to discover the

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 56.; Senec. *de const. Sap.* 18.: Chæreæ tribuno militum sermo non pro manu erat, languidus sono et infracta voce suspectior. Huic Caius signum petenti modo Veneris, modo Priapi dabat. Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 1. 5.; Dion, lix. 29.

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design.[1] Caius contented himself with despatching an order for the execution of a Cassius Longinus, proconsul of Asia, who was accordingly summoned to Rome, but arrived there just too late to suffer by the tyrant's precautions.[2] At last, after many delays, the festival of the Palatine games was fixed on for carrying the project into effect. Four days did Caius preside in the theatre, surrounded by the friends and guards who were sworn to slay him, but still lacked the resolution. On the fifth and last, the twenty-fourth of January, 794, feeling indisposed from the evening's debauch, he hesitated at first to rise. His attendants, however, prevailed on him to return once more to the shows; and as he was passing through the vaulted passage which led from the palace to the circus, he inspected a choir of noble youths from Asia, who were engaged to perform upon the stage. He was about to call them back into the palace to rehearse their parts before him, but the leader of the band excused himself on account of hoarseness. Caius was still engaged in conversation with them when Chærea and another tribune, Sabinus, made their way to him: the one struck him on the throat from behind with his sword, while the other was in the act of demanding the watchword. A second blow cleft the tyrant's jaw. He fell, and drawing his limbs together to save his body, still screamed, *I live! I live!* while the conspirators thronging over him,

Death of Caius.

[1] Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* l. c.

[2] Suet. *Calig.* 57.; Dion, lix. 29. This, however, would suppose an interval of nearly two months, which seems hardly admissible. Cassius had been the husband of Drusilla, whom he was forced to relinquish to Caius, to be united to M. Lepidus.

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and crying, *again! again!* hacked him with thirty wounds. The bearers of his litter rushed to his assistance with their poles, while his body-guard of Germans struck wildly at the assassins, and, amongst the crowd which surrounded them, killed, it was said, more than one senator who had taken no part in the affair. The conspirators extricated themselves from the narrow passages, and left the body where it fell. It was borne in secret by friendly hands to the imperial pleasure ground of the Lamian palace, and there hastily and imperfectly consumed, and thrust into a shallow tomb. At a later period, the sisters Livia and Agrippina, restored from banishment, exhumed it, reduced it solemnly to ashes, and consigned it again to a more decent sepulchre. Till this was done the shade, we are assured, could have no rest itself, nor would it suffer the keepers of the garden to slumber undisturbed at night.[1]

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 59. Caius was slain in his thirtieth year. His reign lasted three years, ten months, and eight days, from the 16th of March, 790, to 24th of Jan. 794.

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THE SENATE DELIBERATES ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS. — THE PRÆTORIANS CARRY OFF CLAUDIUS TO THEIR CAMP AND SWEAR ALLEGIANCE TO HIM. — THE SENATE YIELDS AND ACCEPTS HIM AS EMPEROR. — HE PROCLAIMS AN AMNESTY, EXCEPTING ONLY CHÆREA AND A FEW OTHERS. — CONTEMPT AND NEGLECT WITH WHICH HE HAD BEEN TREATED IN HIS EARLY YEARS. — HIS DEVOTION TO LITERATURE. — HE TAKES THE POLICY OF AUGUSTUS AS HIS MODEL: 1. HIS MILITARY EXPLOITS AND CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 2. HIS REVISION OF THE SENATE AND KNIGHTS, AND CENSUS A. U. 800. 3. HIS ADMINISTRATION OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS — SECULAR GAMES A. U. 800. 4. HIS LABORIOUS ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. 5. HIS BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTIONS: THE AQUA CLAUDIA: THE PORTUS AUGUSTI: DRAINING OF THE LAKE FUCINUS. 6. HIS PUBLIC SHOWS IN THE AMPHITHEATRE, AND MOCK SEA-FIGHT IN THE LAKE FUCINUS. — GLUTTONY AND INTEMPERANCE ASCRIBED TO HIM.

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A.D. 41. A.U. 794. Confusion of the assassins.

THUS, after an interval of eighty-four years, another Caius Cæsar fell by the hand of the assassin, but one who would never have been mentioned in conjunction with the first, except for the likeness of his name and of the manner of his death.[1] The parallel, however, was not confined to the first act of the tragedy: its subsequent scenes presented a repetition of nearly similar circumstances; — the same confusion among the assassins themselves, the

[1] Tac. *Hist.* iii. 68.: Repentina vis dictatorem Cæsarem oppresserat: occultæ Caium insidiæ.

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same hasty and ill-concerted attempts at establishing the freedom they had recovered, and, lastly, a like defeat and overthrow by the strong and well-directed will of a military power. It would seem that the Romans, strong as they were in individual enterprise, and though trained by all their habits to deliberation in common, were little capable of combining to any purpose; possibly the very force of their personal characters, and the vehemence of their wills, rendered them, in the gravest crises of their history, thus unfit for united action.

The consuls convene the senate for deliberation.

When each of the conspirators had thrust his weapon into the mangled body, and the last shrieks of its agony had been silenced, they escaped with all speed from the narrow corridor in which it lay; but they had made no dispositions for what was to follow, and were content to leave it to the consuls and senate, amazed and unprepared, to decide upon the future destiny of the republic. Among the first of the emperor's familiars who penetrated to the spot where he fell, was his trusty friend the Jew Agrippa, who threw a mantle over the body, and tried for a moment to conceal the fact of his demise. But the violence of the German guards, and the sturdy bearing of a consular, Valerius Asiaticus, who proclaimed aloud that the tyrant had ceased to breathe, and how much he regretted having borne no part in the transaction himself, made it fully known, and at the same time daunted the courage of those who might have avenged it. There remained no other duty for the piety of Agrippa to perform but to carry off the remains, and while awaiting the course

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of events, consign them hastily to the grave. While the Germans were awed by the imposing attitude of Valerius, some cohorts of the city guards accepted the orders of the consuls, and occupied the public places under their direction. At the same time the consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, the latter of whom had been substituted for Caius himself only a few days before, convened the senate, not in the accustomed Curia, because it bore the name of Julian, but in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. The first act of the sitting was to issue an edict in which the tyranny of Caius was denounced, and a remission of the most obnoxious of his taxes proclaimed, together with the promise of a donative to the soldiers. The Fathers next proceeded to deliberate on the form under which the government should be henceforth administered. On this point no settled principles prevailed. Some were ready to vote that the memory of the Cæsars should be abolished, their temples overthrown, and the free state of the Scipios and Catos restored; others contended for the continuance of monarchy in another family, and among the chiefs of the nobility more than one candidate sprung up presently to claim it. The debate lasted late into the night; and in default of any other specific arrangement, the consuls continued to act as the leaders of the commonwealth. Saturninus obtained a decree in honour of the restorers of public freedom, and especially of Cassius Chærea, the head and hand of the conspiracy. When the hero approached the curule chairs and demanded the watchword of the

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consuls, he was entrusted, amidst vociferous acclamations, with the sacred name of *Liberty*. The senators separated. Chærea delivered the word to the four Urban cohorts, and dispatched a tribune named Lupus to execute the vengeance of the state upon the wretched Cæsonia, whose reputed influence over her husband marked her as an object of particular detestation, and upon her child, the monster's only offspring.[1]

The prætorians carry off Claudius to their camp, and swear allegiance to him.

But while the senate deliberated, the prætorian guards had resolved.[2] Accident presented them with an object to rally round, and a keen sense of interest combined with the consciousness of power to determine them to exert the strength which their union and discipline gave them. In the confusion which ensued upon the first news of the event, several of their body had flung themselves furiously into the palace, and begun to plunder its glittering chambers. None dared to offer them any opposition; the slaves and freedmen fled or concealed themselves. One of its inmates, half-hidden behind a curtain in an obscure corner, was dragged forth with brutal violence; and great was the surprise of the intruders when they recognised him as Claudius, the long despised and neglected uncle of the murdered emperor.[3] He sank almost senseless with terror

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 60.; Dion, lx. 1.; Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 2.

[2] Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, ch. iii.

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 10.: Prorepsit ad solarium proximum, interque prætenta foribus vela se abdidit. The solarium was the terrace or portico outside the house; the windows which opened upon it were furnished with curtains. Some historians have adopted Burmann's unnecessary conjecture "scalarium," as if Claudius had hidden himself under the stairs. Dion says, ἐν γωνίᾳ που σκοτεινῇ; Josephus, κατά τι προσβατὸν ὀλίγαις βαθμίσι χωρίον. *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 3.

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at their feet: but the soldiers in their wildest mood still respected the blood of the Cæsars, and instead of slaying or maltreating the suppliant, the brother of Germanicus, they hailed him, more in jest perhaps than earnest, with the title of Imperator, and carried him off almost unconscious to their camp. During the night, while the senate was still debating, and the soldiers, now collected in greater numbers, were pressing the empire, which he dared not yet accept, with more determination upon him, the consuls being informed of his place of retreat, sent some of the tribunes to invite him to their meeting, to deliver his opinion upon the state of affairs. To this summons he timidly replied that he was detained in the camp by force, and the clash of arms and menacing attitude of the soldiers seemed sufficiently to confirm the excuse. In the morning, when it was found that the senate had come to no conclusion, and that the people assembled round its place of meeting were urging it with loud cries to appoint a single chief of the state, and were actually naming him as the object of their choice, Claudius found courage to suffer the prætorians to swear allegiance to him, and at the same time assured them of a donative of fifteen thousand sesterces apiece.[1] At the same time Agrippa, who had quitted the half-burnt bones of Caius to repair to the long-deserted associate in whose fortune he now confided, went in his interest to the senate, and exhorted it to yield with a good grace to the

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 10.: Primus Cæsarum fidem militis etiam præmio pigneratus. This fatal example we shall find regularly followed for the future.

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force which was about to be arrayed against it. While protesting that all his own wishes were on its side, he declared that there was no hope of its success in the impending struggle. *The prætorians*, he said, *besides their greater numbers, are trained and veteran soldiers; our forces are a mere handful of slaves and freedmen.*[1] He earnestly counselled it to temporize and negotiate. On the other hand, he secretly urged Claudius to persist in his claims to unconditional submission, though he recommended him to speak in terms of respect and consideration of the august assembly, to flatter its vanity by affecting to consult it, and by promising to approve himself in all things a ruler of a very different stamp from the tyrant who had goaded it to its futile assertion of liberty.[2]

The senate submits, and accepts Claudius as emperor.

The senators assembled once again in the temple of Jupiter[3]; but now their numbers were reduced to not more than a hundred, and even these were collected rather to support the pretensions of certain individuals who aspired to be nominated to the empire, among whom were Valerius Asiaticus, and M. Minucianus, the husband of Julia, than to maintain the cause of the ancient republic. But the formidable array of the prætorians, who had

[1] The Vigiles were a corps of freedmen, according to the institution of Augustus. Besides them, the senators might have armed their slaves.

[2] Suet. Dion, ll. cc.; Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 4.

[3] Josephus says in the temple of Jupiter Νικήφορος or Victor. He may mean Jupiter Stator, whose temple below the Capitoline was not unfrequently used for its meetings by the senate, or, more probably, this is his way of expressing the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, to whom the spoils of victory (νικητήρια) were dedicated.

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descended from their camp into the city, and the demonstrations of the popular will, daunted all parties in the assembly: even the guards in which it confided, vacillated, and Chærea in vain protested almost alone, against the substitution, as he said, of an idiot for a madman; while Sabinus sullenly declared that he would not survive the advent of another Cæsar to power. Presently the Urban cohorts passed over, with their officers and colours, to the opposite side. All was lost: the prætorians, thus reinforced, led their hero to the palace, and there he commanded the senate to attend upon him. Nothing remained but to obey and pass the decree, which had now become a formal act of investiture, by which the name and honours of Imperator were bestowed upon the new chief of the commonwealth. Such was the first creation of an emperor by the military power of the prætorians: we shall witness at no distant period the interference of a still stronger power, that of the legions themselves, in the work.[1]

Claudius proclaims an amnesty, excepting only Chærea and a few others.

Surrounded by the drawn swords of his myrmidons Claudius had found courage to face the murderers of his nephew, and to vindicate his authority to the citizens, by a strong measure of retribution, in condemning Chærea and Lupus, with a few others of the blood-embrued, to immediate execution; while Sabinus, omitted from the proscription, kept his word to his associates by throwing himself upon his own sword. Claudius was satisfied with this act of vigour, and proceeded, with a moderation but little expected, to publish an

[1] Aurel. Vict. *de Cæsar.* 4.: Ita Romæ regia potestas firmata.

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amnesty for all the words and acts of the late critical interregnum.[1] Nevertheless for thirty days he did not venture to come himself into the Senate-house, so terrible was the impression the deed of blood had made upon him, and so conscious was he of his personal inferiority to the nobles who had aspired to the place which he occupied in virtue of his name alone. When at last he recovered his equanimity sufficiently to take his seat between the consuls, he caused the prefects and tribunes of his guard to attend constantly about his person, a precaution to which Tiberius had occasionally consented, but which Caius had boldly disregarded.[2] The same apprehensions followed him from the Curia to the council-room, to the hall of audience, and even to the private apartments of the palace. Before the curtains which veiled the entrance to his antechamber guards were posted who diligently examined all who entered. Down to a late period of his principate even women and children were not exempted from the search, lest they should bear about them concealed weapons. Satellites, lance in hand, were stationed at the head and foot of

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 11.: Imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum . . . memoriæ eximere. Dion, lx. 3. Orosius speaks in magniloquent language of this act of clemency. vii. 6. This Christian writer takes a peculiar view of the reign of Claudius. At its commencement, he says, the apostles Peter and Paul came to Rome, the faith was preached, and Rome was blessed in consequence with many signal advantages—a merciful emperor, a wise administration, prosperity at home and abroad. But after Claudius expelled the Jews or Christians from the city, all this was changed. Rome was harassed by famine, the emperor abandoned himself to sanguinary tyranny, and perished in the end miserably by poison.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15.

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his couch at the banquet, and he was even served at table by soldiers. This jealous custom he retained constantly to the end of his reign, and it became an established etiquette of the court under his successors. Even when he visited a sick friend, for Claudius affected as far as possible the obliging manners of a patrician citizen, he caused the chamber of the invalid, and even his bedclothes, to be carefully examined.[1]

Fears and moderation of Claudius.

The personal fears, indeed, of the new emperor contributed with a kindly and placable disposition to make him anxious to gain his subjects' goodwill by the gentleness and urbanity of his deportment.[2] Far from assuming the cold reserve of Tiberius, or the ferocious pride of his nearest predecessor, Claudius showed himself full of consideration for all who had any claims on the prince and father of the people. The amnesty he had proclaimed was followed by the pardon of numerous exiles and condemned persons, especially such as were suffering under sentence for the crime of majestas. The wretched sisters of Caius were recalled, and allowed to return to their domestic duties or dissipations.[3] Many harsh enactments of the late ruler were annulled, and compensation made wherever it was possible. Confiscated estates

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 35.: Quanquam jactator civilitatis. Dion (lx. 3.): Of the guards in the banquet hall: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου καταδειχθὲν καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ γίγνεται. Of the personal search: ἡ δὲ ἔρευνα ἡ διὰ πάντων διὰ Ὀυεσπασιάνου ἐπαύσατο.

[2] Aurel. Victor, *de Cæsar.* 4.: Pleraque per formidinem tamen egregie consultabat.

[3] Dion, lx. 4. Suet. (*Claud.* 12.) says that he obtained the express sanction of the senate for every such act of grace.

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were relinquished. Moderation and generosity characterized the fiscal measures of the opening reign: the new-year's presents, which Caius had not only suffered but solicited, — to enable him, as he said, to bear the expense of bringing up a daughter, — were waived, and even interdicted. The emperor refused to accept the inheritance of any man who had relatives of his own; he persisted, moreover, to the last in declining the prænomen of Imperator.[1] The statues of which Caius had plundered Greece and Asia were generally sent back, and the temples which he had seized for his own cult,—as for instance, that of Apollo at Miletus, one of the finest edifices of the age,—were restored to their proper divinities. The honours which Claudius paid to the memory of his brother Germanicus and his parents, as well as to Livia and to Augustus, were accepted as a pledge that he would take these illustrious examples for his model, and for their sake the respect was excused which he did not withhold from Caius and Tiberius.[2] The discovery Claudius made, or pretended to make, of lists of intended victims, and of the fatal poison-chest, added to the horror of the citizens at the monster from whom they had escaped, and made them doubly grateful for the gentle goodness of his successor. The popularity of the new prince, though manifested, thanks to his

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 12.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 11.: Jusjurandum neque sanctiuss ibi, neque crebrius . . . quam per Augustum. Aviæ Liviæ divinos honores . . . . parentibus inferias publicas . . . . Ne Marcum quidem Antonium inhonoratum transmisit. Tiberio marmoreum arcum peregit. Though he abolished the Acts of Caius — those of Tiberius had been abolished before — he refused to make a festival of the day of his assassination.

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own discretion, by no such grotesque and impious flatteries as attended upon the opening promise of Caius, was certainly not less deeply felt. When, a few months after his accession, during a temporary absence, a report was spread of his assassination, the people were violently excited; they assailed the soldiers and the senate with cries of treason and parricide, and were not appeased till the chief magistrates came forward in succession, and solemnly protested that their favourite was safe, and returning rapidly to the city.[1]

The early life of Claudius.

The confidence indeed of the upper classes of the citizens, after the bitter disappointment they had so lately suffered, was not to be so lightly won. The senate and knights might view their new ruler with indulgence, and hope for the best; but they had been too long accustomed to regard him as proscribed from power by constitutional unfitness, as imbecile in mind, and, which was perhaps in their estimation even a worse defect, as misshapen and half developed in physical force, to anticipate from him a wise or vigorous administration.[2] The neglect with which his education was treated in his early years, when he was abandoned to the care of nurses, and the instructions of a coarse and senseless pedagogue, who exasperated his infirmities by ill-usage, was owing probably to the crime which a Roman parent seldom forgave, the weakness of his constitution and the distortion of his frame.[3] In

He had been treated with neglect and contempt for his infirmities of mind and body.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 12.

[2] Aurel. Vict. *de Cæsar.* 4.: Et sanè quia vecors erat mitissimus videbatur imprudentibus.

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 2.: Etiam post tutelam receptam alieni arbitrii et sub pædagogo fuit; quem barbarum et olim superjumentarium, ex

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another rank he would have been exposed perhaps in infancy; as the son of Drusus and Antonia he was permitted to live: but he became from the first an object of disgust to his parents, who put him generally out of their sight, and left him to grow up in the hands of hirelings without judgment or feeling. The child was born at Lugdunum, in 744, on the first of August, the auspicious day of the dedication of the temple to Augustus, and received the name of Tiberius Claudius Drusus, to which was afterwards added that of Germanicus, on the premature decease of his father. His childhood and youth were one long sickness, uncheered by parental affection; and he seems to have been deemed from the first unfit for any bodily exercises. His mother was not ashamed to call him a monster of a man, an abortion of nature: the greatest expression of contempt she could apply to any one was to call him more a fool than her son Claudius. His grandmother Livia held him in disdain, and seldom even spoke to him: her admonitions were always given in short and sharp letters, or conveyed to him by the mouth of others. His sister Livilla, on once hearing that he might possibly be called hereafter to power, exclaimed loudly at the wretched and unworthy fate of the Roman people to be subjected to such a governor. Augustus himself, who should have known human

industria sibi appositum, ut se quibuscunque de causis quam sævissime coerceret. Publius, the eldest son of the first Scipio Africanus, is perhaps the only known instance of a Roman of his birth and station withheld, under the commonwealth, from public affairs by the delicacy of his constitution. Cic. *Brut.* 19.; *Off.* 33.

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nature better, and who might have felt a kinder sympathy with bodily infirmity, could not endure that any of his race should lack the personal qualities which befitted the highest station, and slighted the poor youth both in public and in his own family. Some fragments of the emperor's correspondence are cited, to show the little esteem in which he held him.[1] Thus he consults with Livia how the youth is to be treated, and how far it will be proper to produce him in public. He may be suffered to attend at a pontifical banquet, if he will submit to conform himself to the example and guidance of a cousin; but he cannot be permitted to witness the games of the circus from the conspicuous elevation of the imperial lodge. He must not be seen at the festival of the Latin Feriæ, either at Alba or in Rome. If he can follow the sacred procession up the mountain with his brother Germanicus, people will ask why he is not entrusted with municipal office, which of course is out of the question. *I wish*, says Augustus, *that the poor creature would take pains to imitate some respectable personage in bearing, gait, and gesture. . . . . You may imagine*, he adds, *how surprised I was to find something to like in his declaiming, for you know that he cannot ordinarily even speak so as to be understood.* With this strong prejudice against his grandchild, we cannot wonder that the emperor allowed him to enjoy no higher distinction in public life than the formal dignity of the Augurate, and that in the distribution of his legacies, in which he

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 4.

carefully marked the degrees of his esteem, he left him no more than the trifling bequest of eight hundred sesterces.[1]

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The obscurity in which the young man was retained by Augustus, continued still to envelop him under the next principate. He petitioned Tiberius to be suffered to partake of the honours and burdens of the state, but the empty distinction of the consular ornaments was the utmost that was conceded to him. After this mortification he relinquished all hope of public service, and retired to his country seats, where he associated, as was vulgarly reported, with none but the vilest companions. The men of his own class, indeed, were too busy in paying court to the emperor or his favourites to attend to the poor despised outcast: his early friend Agrippa, as we have seen, deliberately cast him off as an unprofitable acquaintance. Yet there is no evidence of his having replaced these selfish companions by less worthy associates. The scandalous charges of drunkenness, gambling, and addiction to women, all which were now heaped upon him, are at least probably exaggerated.[2] The extent of his literary labours, in which he rivalled the most industrious students of antiquity, seems to preclude of itself the possibility of habitual irregularities in his conduct. Claudius, we are told, composed a

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 4. Champagny observes (*Césars.* i. 331.): Auguste ne l'aimait pas; il n'en fit jamais qu'un Augure: il le trouvait trop imbecile pour faire autre chose que deviner l'avenir.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 5.: Super veterem segnitiæ notam, ebrietátis quoque et aleæ infamiam subiit. Comp. c. 33. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 49.: Quum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret.

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history of Roman affairs from the battle of Actium in no less than forty-one books; to this he added a biography of himself, or memoir of his own times, in eight, a history of the Etruscans in twenty, and of the Carthaginians in eight also.[1] Besides these ponderous historical works, he composed a defence of Cicero against the criticisms of Asinius Gallus, a comedy in the Greek language, and a treatise on the art of dice-playing.[2] It may be suspected, indeed, that a great part of the labour of these various compositions was shared by the grammarians and learned freedmen with whom the literary Roman generally surrounded himself[3]; but whatever allowance we make for their assistance, it will still appear that he possessed a power of application quite inconsistent with the weakness of intellect which his maligners so freely imputed to him. Nevertheless these

[1] The first of these works he began originally from the death of Cæsar, but was admonished by his mother and Livia that the theme was ill suited to his position. Of his own life he wrote Magis inepte quam ineleganter, which seems to mean that the style was better than the subject.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 41, 42. The Etruscan and Carthaginian histories were written in Greek: I suspect from this that Claudius's historical works were mostly compilations, or even transcripts. The Latin language probably afforded him no originals on these foreign subjects. Claudius had also some grammatical fancies. He wished to introduce three new letters into the Roman alphabet, the digamma, the psi, and another which is not known. See Lipsius's note on Tac. *Ann.* xi. 14. The ϝ and ψ may still be traced on some monuments of this reign, but they did not survive it.

[3] Suetonius (l. c.) mentions a Sulpicius Flavus as assisting, and the great historian Livy as encouraging, him in his historical labours. In the same way we read of Ateius Philologus making historical collections for the use of Sallust and Asinius Pollio. Suet. *de illustr. Gramm.* 10.

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respectable occupations gained him no consideration. Tiberius treated him to the last with a contumely and injustice which seems to have revolted the citizens. Caius, out of deference to the general sentiment, elevated him to the consulship, and allowed him to appear at the public spectacles in the place which befitted him, where he sometimes represented the absent emperor himself; but in private his nephew continued to put the grossest indignities upon him, and the emperor's boon companions were encouraged to make sport of his reputed imbecility. Thus, for instance, if he came at any time late to the imperial supper table, the guests would spread themselves upon the couches and keep him standing; if he fell asleep after eating, they would put rough gloves upon his hands, to enjoy his confusion when he rubbed his eyes on waking.[1] Such were the consequences at Rome and in the palace of being born of a weakly constitution, and of having suffered from paralysis, of halting on one leg, of trembling in hand and head, and of having perhaps the speech affected with thick and imperfect utterance.[2] Even the good nature which the poor man exhibited under these trials of his temper was turned into ridicule, and denounced as a sign of the weakness of

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 8. Comp. the satirical *ludus de morte Claudii*, or *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca (in fin.): Apparuit subito C. Cæsar, et petere illum in servitutem cœpit: producit testes qui illum viderant ab illo flagris, ferulis, colaphis vapulantem.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 30.; Dion, lx. 2.; Juvenal, vi. 620.: Tremulum caput .... manantia labra. Senec. *Apocol.*: Bonæ staturæ, bene canum .... assidue caput movere, dextrum pedem trahere .... respondisse nescio quid perturbato sono et voce confusa.

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his understanding. That the judgment of a man from whom the practical knowledge of men and things had been withheld was not equal to his learning, and that the infirmities of his body affected his powers of decision, his presence of mind, and steadfastness of purpose, may easily be imagined: nevertheless, it may be allowed that in a private station, and anywhere but at Rome, Claudius would have passed muster as a respectable, and not, perhaps, an useless, member of society.

Claudius affects to imitate the policy of Augustus.

The opinion which is here given of this prince's character may possibly be influenced in some degree by the study of his countenance in the numerous busts still existing of him, which represent it as one of the most interesting of the whole imperial series. If his figure, as we are told, was tall, and when sitting appeared not ungraceful, his face, at least in repose, was eminently handsome. But it is impossible not to remark in it an expression of pain and anxiety which forcibly arrests our sympathy. It is the face of an honest and well-meaning man, who feels himself unequal to the task imposed upon him. There is the look of perplexity in which he may have pored over the mysteries of Etruscan lore, carried to the throne of the world, and engaged in the deepest problems of finance and citizenship. There is the expression of fatigue both of the mind and body, which speaks of midnight watches over books, varied with midnight carouses at the imperial table, and the fierce caresses of rival mistresses. There is the glance of fear, not of open enemies,

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but of pretended friends; the reminiscence of wanton blows, and the anticipation of the deadly potion. Above all, there is the anxious glance of dependence, which seems to cast about for a model to imitate, for ministers to shape a policy, and for satellites to execute it. The model Claudius found was the policy of the venerated Augustus; but his ministers were the most profligate of women, and the most selfish of emancipated slaves. This imitation of the measures of the great founder of the empire is indeed the key to the whole public policy of the Claudian principate. Both at home and abroad we shall find the new ruler of Rome following the lines already traced by his illustrious ancestor; and our examination of his career of sovereignty will place in the strongest light the points of difference between the middle of the eighth century of the city and its termination.—

I. Military enterprises of the reign of Claudius.

I. The commencement of the new reign was signalized by the renewed activity of the armies on the frontiers. Servius Galba, confirmed in his command of the legions on the Rhine, led his forces across that river into the territory of the Chatti, whom he had found some pretext for visiting with the terror of the Roman arms. Domitius Corbulo gained some successes over the Chauci, constructed roads and canals for the further prosecution of his military enterprises, and was preparing to accomplish the long-intermitted task of German subjugation, when commanded to desist from so large and perilous an undertaking.[1] At the same time, at the southern extremity of the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 18, 20. Our authorities do not distinguish between

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empire, the majesty of Rome was vindicated against the Maurusians, a people of the still unsettled province of Mauretania.[1] Suetonius Paullinus was the first of the Romans that crossed the range of the Atlas. Penetrating a ten days' march southward, he reached a river which was called the Gir, one of the streams perhaps which fall from the southern slopes of those mountains, and are lost in the sands of the Sahara.[2] But Claudius determined to carry into effect the plan which Augustus had prematurely announced, of an invasion and thorough reduction of the great island of Britain. As his ancestor had proposed to follow in person the steps of Julius Cæsar, so Claudius was not content to leave this important achievement in the hands of his lieutenants, but, untrained as he was to arms, he quitted the cares of administration in the capital, and joined his legions on the further side of the channel.[3] The particulars of this deliberate act of aggression will deserve, as a matter of national interest, to be related at greater length in another place: it is enough here to say that it was completely successful; and though little resistance was offered, and Claudius himself found no enemy to confront him in the field, it was of suffi-

this and the Corbulo who has been mentioned under the reign of Tiberius. I have there shown that they were certainly different persons. Of this Corbulo more will be said on a later occasion.

[1] Dion, lx. 9.

[2] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 1. At a later period this river was confounded by vague report with the Niger itself; and in denying this connexion Claudian applies to it an epithet which sounds peculiarly inappropriate: Et Gir *notissimus* amnis Æthiopum, simili mentitus gurgite Nilum. Claudian, *de laud. Stil.* i. 252.

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 17.; Dion, lx. 19. foll.

cient importance to merit the distinction of a triumph, which the emperor claimed, and led with great pomp and ceremony in the year 797. Claudius proved himself not unworthy of the honour, which of all Roman conquerors Sulla and Augustus had alone usurped before him, of extending the limits of the pomœrium, in token that the frontiers of the empire had been advanced under his auspices.[1]

Foundation of colonies.

The foundation of colonies had been one of the great public merits of Augustus. It had gratified the soldiers; it had given independence to many needy citizens; it had proved his personal disinterestedness, in the relinquishment of tracts of tributary domain, and the abandonment of some sources of the imperial revenue. On the other hand, the parsimony of Tiberius had been manifested in his abstaining from these popular benefactions. No colony of Tiberius is mentioned; none of his reckless and grasping successor Caius. But Claudius was distinguished among the Roman Imperators by his politic munificence in this particular. It was his ambition to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of the empire,—he restored some impoverished foundations in Italy, and established new colonies in the frontier provinces.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23.: Pomœrium auxit Cæsar, more prisco, quo iis qui protulere imperium, etiam terminos urbis propagare datur. Nec tamen duces Romani, quanquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpaverant nisi L. Sulla et D. Augustus. Aurel. Victor. *de Cæsar.* 4.: Retenti fines seu dati imperio Romano. Spanheim traces on the medals of Claudius that he received the title of Imperator no less than twenty-seven times. Spanh. *de usu Num.* ii. 404. Augustus had received it only twenty-one times. Tac. *Ann.* i. 9.

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The famous cities of Treves, Cologne, and Colchester owe their origin, among others, to his hand, and their celebrity partly perhaps to the wisdom with which he chose their sites, and the bounty with which he endowed them.[1]

His conduct in regard to foreign affairs.

From his place between the consuls in the Senate-house, Claudius, as the chief of the Roman people, dispensed crowns to subject potentates with imperial munificence. The suppliants who had thronged the court of Tiberius and Caius were relieved from their painful attendance, and sent to play the tyrant in their turn at home. Antiochus, long a petitioner in the antechamber of the senate, was now restored to the throne of Commagene; and Mithridates, who claimed descent from the great hero of the East, received a grant of the kingdom of the Bosphorus, for which Polemo, its recent occupant, was indemnified with a district of Cilicia.[2] The services of Herod Agrippa, who had managed so adroitly to aid in securing the empire for Claudius, received a brilliant and complete reward, not only in the confirmation of his authority in Galilee, but in the addition to his dominions of Samaria and Judea. By the cession of this wealthy province the kingdom of the Great Herod was once more reunited, and constituted far the most important of all the vassal sovereignties of the empire. At the same time the little district of Chalcis in Syria was erected into a principality for a younger brother of Agrippa. The Jews, though they had welcomed

[1] See A. Zumpt, de coloniis Romanorum militaribus. *Comm. Epigr.* i. 385.

[2] Dion, lx. 8.

the transfer of their country from Antipas and Herodias to the less capricious jurisdiction of a Roman proconsul, accepted this new arrangement with marked satisfaction. Agrippa was personally popular with them, and the memory of the first Herod, tyrant as he was, was still held in admiration by the great body of the people. But besides this, the emperor had accompanied his new dispositions with decrees, in which the impious encroachments of Caius on their national privileges were formally disavowed, the malice of their oppugners in the great Eastern cities restrained, and the free enjoyment of their religious usages specifically confirmed. The return of Agrippa to Palestine and his entry into Jerusalem was a national triumph. He studied to retain the approbation of his subjects by acts of munificence, and flattered their pride by the show of independence he maintained. But when he ventured on the royal act of extending and strengthening the fortifications of his capital, he was sternly reminded of the realities of his position by the interdict of the proconsul of Syria, and compelled to desist from the undertaking. Nor could the circumstances of his own kingdom suffer him to forget that his subjects were divided into two rival parties, whose claims he was required constantly to compromise, and whom he could hardly hope, with all his craft, to combine into a nation of common and united sentiments. While the Jewish element, bent fanatically on the maintenance of its ancient customs, and jealous of every transgression of its cherished principles, expected him to conform

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strictly to its religious rites, to court its priesthood, and offer sacrifice in its temples, the Pagans and Hellenizers, hardly less numerous or powerful, elevated him above all laws and usages, and pressed with impetuous zeal the attributes of divinity upon him. At Jerusalem Agrippa enacted the Jew with solemn gait and tragic countenance, amidst general acclamation; but at Cæsarea he allowed the more genial part of the Greek to be imposed on him. It was at a festival in this Hellenic capital, after an harangue he had addressed to the populace, that they shouted, *It is the voice of a god and not of a man*. His mirth was turned into sadness. He was smitten at the same instant with a sore disease, and died after a few days' illness, at the premature age of fifty-four years.[1] This unexpected catastrophe seems to have unhinged the plans of the Roman government. So important a charge as the sovereignty of Palestine could be intrusted only to a tried servant of the emperor; and even Agrippa had given some cause of jealousy by the relations he had cultivated with the princes on his frontier. None of his family merited to succeed him. His brother Herod was allowed to continue in the obscure dignity of his petty chiefdom, and his son Agrippa, already resident as a hostage in Rome, was retained there in honourable custody; while the dominions of the great Idumean reverted once more to the control of the proconsul of Syria, and acquiesced, with a few uneasy murmurs, in the fatal act of incorporation with the empire.

Death of Herod Agrippa.

[1] Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 8.; *Act. Apost.* xii., A.U. 797. A.D. 44.

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II. From the day that the first of the Cæsars fell beneath the daggers of a senatorial faction, it had become a tradition of the state to regard the senate as the natural counterpoise to the power of the emperor, and as a rival whom it was necessary for him to amuse with flatteries, or to control by force. The mutual jealousy of these two co-ordinate authorities, long kept in check by the discretion of Augustus, had been exasperated by a sense of mutual wrong under Tiberius, and had broken out into furious violence under his overbearing successor. But Claudius, on his accession to power, acknowledged without reserve that the overthrow of Caius by a just retribution had convinced him of the folly of all hostile demonstrations, and he solemnly proclaimed his intention of constituting the senate the friend and confidant of his own administration.[1]

II. Claudius maintains the dignity of the senate.

It was a fundamental principle of the Roman municipal polity that the citizen should contribute in his person, the subject in his means, to the service of the state. The great problem of statesmen was to make these two obligations fairly balance one another; to compensate the commonwealth for the immunity from taxation of a portion of its children by laying upon them the most onerous and important employments. The members of the senate were made responsible for the discharge of the highest magistracies; but in order that these offices should be always adequately filled by men of fortune equal to their expense, and of consi-

After the example of Augustus, he revises the list of the order.

[1] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 11. 2.

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deration suitable to their dignity, it was necessary to maintain this functionary reservoir constantly at the same exalted level, to prevent it sinking from the poverty or want of distinction of its individual members too low to furnish the required supply. Hence, the expediency of the frequent revisions of the list of the senate, such as, under the republic, had been executed by the censors at rapidly recurring intervals, and had been repeated on more than one special occasion by Augustus. But the last of these solemn inquisitions, upon which the eyes of the citizens had always turned with intense and superstitious interest, had taken place as far back as the year 757.[1] Tiberius had shrunk from the labour or the odium of renewing them. Caius had wantonly neglected to do so. It was left for Claudius, whose mind teemed with antique prepossessions, and who was appalled by no drudgery, to follow the example of the founder of the empire, and consolidate afresh the basis of the civil administration. The fierce independence of the Roman Fathers had been tamed by indolence or fear, and we hear no more on this occasion of the resentment of the expelled members, or the murmurs of the body in general. Claudius demanded of them a true statement of their means, and insisted on their possessing the requisite qualification; nor can we suppose that he neglected the show at least of inquiring into their manner of life, and visiting with condemnation such as appeared unworthy to

[1] Dion, lv. 13. This seems to have been the last extraordinary Lectio Senatus; but probably the censure of the year 767, just before Augustus's death, did not pass without some special cases of removal.

stand at the head of Roman society. But he was mild and temperate in the exercise of his authority. Having no political factions to court or intimidate, he had no need to expose himself to the charge of political partiality; and he showed himself liberal in supplying the necessities of those impoverished members of noble or deserving families. Nevertheless, this revision of the senate thinned the benches of the Curia, and showed the citizens but too plainly that the progress of affairs, even since the time of Cæsar and Augustus, had concentrated wealth in few hands, and swept many of the most illustrious houses into obscurity. To remedy this evil, to obliterate the traces of this social revolution, Claudius proposed to call up to the senate the wealthiest of the knights and even of lower ranks.[1] Nor did he confine his view within the limits of Italy. The senate had already received accessions to its numbers from Spain, Africa, the Narbonensis, and other provinces. The Jus Honorum, or claim of admission to the senate and the magistracies, which were filled from the senate or served themselves to replenish it, had been formally conceded to the citizens of many foreign communities by Cæsar and Pompeius, by Augustus and his successors. The principle thus fully acknowledged awaited further extension, on fitting occasions, from every new ruler of the state; and Claudius had both precedent and expediency in his favour when he decreed its application to the whole of Gallia Comata, or at least, as the first step in the process, to

He supplies vacancies from the wealthiest families in the provinces.

He opens the career of honours to the Gauls.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 25.; Dion, lx. 29.

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the Ædui, the first Gallic ally of Rome, the friends and brothers, as they had been styled, of the Roman people. This preference of the Gauls over other subjects of the empire was justified by referring to their tried fidelity during the period which had elapsed since their conquest. It was tendered as a boon at the close of their first century of submission. But it was really owing to the favour with which the emperor regarded their country as his own birthplace, and still more, perhaps, to the intimate relations his father and brother had held with it during their long administration there. The measure was received indeed with some murmurs of discontent: undoubtedly it deserved to be explained more luculently, both as to its motives and anticipated results, than in the strangely rambling and inconclusive arguments actually used by its propounder, as we may judge from the ample fragment of the speech in which he recommended it, preserved on a brazen tablet which was discovered three centuries ago at Lyons.[1] But its advantages required in fact no imperial expositor. On the one hand, the attraction of provincial notabilities to Rome might be regarded as a security to the state for the faithful service of the connexions they left behind; on

[1] See the contents of the Tabulæ æreæ duæ Lugduni erutæ ad latus S. Sebastiani, A. 1529, quæ Claudii Imp. orationem continent super civitate Gallis danda, in an excursion of Lipsius to Tac. *Ann.* xi. 23. They have been published with a commentary by Zell in Germany, according to Hoeck's references: but I have not seen the tract myself. It is curious to compare this genuine transcript of the emperor's words with the paraphrase, if such it may be called, of Tacitus. *Ann.* xi. 24.

the other, the wants and interests of the province might thus be brought directly to the knowledge of the imperial city itself: in short, it was a step towards the fusion of the two great elements of society at the time, an advance in the development of political unity, and as such it assisted in the genial task of riveting the sympathies of the world together. At a later period another happy consequence became apparent, in the effect produced on the moral tone of the higher classes at Rome by the simpler tastes of these representatives of provincial manners. The senseless extravagance of the children of the Roman conquerors, and their vile imitation of the Greeks and Orientals, were shamed by the decent self-respect of the yet uncorrupted barbarians.[1]

Claudius revises the list of the knights.

The order thus revised and rendered worthy of its imperial functions was required to apply with assiduity to its duties, and fresh penalties were assigned to indolence and absence. The senate evinced its renewed activity under this reign by the promulgation of a great variety of laws. The second or equestrian order was subjected to a similar inquisition, and refreshed once more with the infusion of baser blood.[2] Notwithstanding the creation of new patrician houses by Augustus, this caste, to which some of the most solemn religious functions of the state appertained, continued to dwindle away, and required additional

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 55.: Novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in Senatum crebro assumpti domesticam parcimoniam intulerunt.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 16.

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grafts.[1] The effects of luxury, of vice and celibacy, had proved more fatal than the sword of the executioner. But all these causes combined to decimate the ancient families; and we observe, more and more, the rise of new gentile names into distinction, and lose sight in the same proportion of old and cherished appellations.[2] In order to carry out these reforms, Claudius assumed, in 800, the powers and office of the censorship, and held a lustrum of the Roman people.[3] Augustus, as we have seen, when he performed this solemnity, had abstained from adopting the title of Censor. Whatever his motive for this innovation may have been, his successor was more punctilious in preserving the name, together with the functions of the office. The enumeration of the citizens on this occasion gave a result of 5,984,072 males of military age, which may imply a total Roman population of not less than 25,419,066.[4] Thirty-four years before the return amounted to only 4,897,000, or a total of about 17,400,000; and this considerable differ-

Censorship of Claudius. A. U. 800.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 25.: Paucis jam reliquis familiarum quas Romulus majorum et L. Brutus minorum gentium appellaverant; exhaustis etiam quas dictator Cæsar lege Cassia et princeps Augustus lege Sænia sublegere.

[2] The barbarism of the double gentile name first appears at this period, as in the grammarian Remmius Fannius Palæmon, originally a slave. We meet with the same in Nævius Sertorius, and also in Milonia Cæsonia. At a later period we shall be startled by a Julius Calpurnius, an Aurelius Prudentius, and a Claudius Rutilius.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 13, 25.; Suet. *Claud.* 16.; Dion, lx. 29.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* x. 2.

[4] See Tacitus (l. c.) compared with the somewhat different statement of Eusebius. For the proportion of males between 17 and 60 to the sum of a population, see Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* iii. 457, 461, Hoeckh, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 2. 286.

ence is not to be accounted for by the mere increase of population in the course of a single generation. While, however, it may be taken as evidence, in some degree, of the general prosperity which is for the most part indicated by a rapid increase of births over deaths, we must consider it also as a result of the fresh introductions into the class of citizens which were in progress under Tiberius and Caius. This increase was still more developed under the next principate. It is probable that Claudius conferred the boon upon many communities as well as individuals; and it is not impossible that both he and Caius made a traffic of it for their private advantage. Such, at all events, was undoubtedly the case with his ministers and favourites, many of whom amassed, as we shall see, enormous fortunes by procuring the franchise from their master for their wealthiest applicants. The Roman citizen was still exempt from the most onerous requisitions of the state, the poll and land tax; and the twentieth on successions was lightened to him when the property descended in a direct line.[1] The sale of the franchise by the emperor was in fact no other than the spendthrift's economy; it was living upon the capital of the state. The fatal extravagance of the system was first perceived at a somewhat later period, and we shall see some checks put on the claim of immunity by succeeding emperors.

III. Nor did the example of Augustus fail to remind his curious imitator that the care of the national religion is among the first duties of

III. Measures for the conservation of the national religion.

[1] See Dion, lv. 25., and Gierig's explanation of Plin. *Paneg.* 39.

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the conservative reformer. Claudius promptly acquiesced in the general feeling of disgust with which the impieties of Caius had been regarded. The assumption of the special attributes of divinity, the club of Hercules and the thyrsus of Bacchus, and the caricature of the accustomed deities of Olympus, which had disgraced the last reign, found no favour or indulgence from him. The Orientalism which had pervaded the court and sanctuary under the disciple of Agrippa, was swept sternly away by the historian of Etruria. In other matters the measures of Claudius, as the chief of the state religion, seem to have been generally practical and useful. He limited the increasing number of feasts and holidays, which threatened to degrade the Romans into a mob of mere indolent triflers; but as regarded the foreign cults which had so often intruded into the city, and been so often banished from it, he contented himself with proscribing such only as might seem politically dangerous. The Jews, who had been expelled by Tiberius, but who seem to have lately recovered their position there through the influence of Agrippa, were treated with indulgence by Claudius, till the disturbances they excited by seditions or domestic dissensions caused them to be chased once more from the city.[1] The spirit of the antiquarian was again visible in the treaty Claudius contracted with Agrippa by the sacrifice of a swine in the Forum; in his restoration of the

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 25.: Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. On this celebrated passage more will be said hereafter.

expiatory offerings of Servius in the grove of Diana; and in his proposing to appoint a senatorial commission to examine the conduct and efficiency of the Haruspicinal discipline.[1] The chief pontiff celebrated the completion of the eighth century of the city with the ceremony of secular games. But in this his vanity seems to have got the better of his literary prepossessions, for he could not but have been aware that the Etruscan Sæculum bore no reference to a period of an hundred years; nor, in fact, had more than sixty-three years elapsed since Augustus had summoned the Romans to behold a solemnity *which none then living had before seen, and none should ever see again.*[2]

IV. Patience and industry of Claudius in the adminitration of justice.

IV. Among other merits which history has ascribed to Augustus was the sedulous industry with which, after the manner of the old patricians, he had occupied himself with dispensing justice to the citizens. The patient application of his laborious follower was eminently conspicuous in this practice also. Sometimes in the open Forum, sometimes in the neighbouring basilicas, the emperor, old and infirm as he was, would endure from hour to hour, every day of business, the drudgery of judicial investigations, and give at least decent attention to the clamorous appeals of the advocates, who, emboldened by his unexampled patience and

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 15.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 48. The secular games of Augustus were A.U. 737; those of Claudius A.U. 800. Quare vox præconis irrisa est, invitantis more solemni ad ludos, quos nec spectasset quisquam, nec spectaturus esset: quum superessent adhuc qui spectaverant, et histrionum, producti olim, tunc quoque producerentur. Suet. *Claud.* 21.; Plin. l. c.

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good nature, would venture not unfrequently to worry and even insult him. So little did he spare himself in this irksome duty, that his measure for curtailing the numerous non-days of the calendar was ascribed to a wish to gain more time for the labours of the tribunals.[1] When, after a long morning sitting, he arose at last for refreshment,— even if, as on one occasion, the odour of a pontifical banquet, prepared in the adjoining temple, served to hasten his movements,— the petitioners for a hearing would sometimes obstruct his passage and cling about his person, till he meekly resumed his seat, and devoted the afternoon also to their affairs.[2] However this passion for judicial functions might be open to caricature, and however the intellectual infirmities of the man might manifest themselves in occasional haste, frivolity, or indecision, the conduct of Claudius in this particular seems to have been actuated by a sincerely beneficent intention, and shows beyond dispute the principles of moderation and equity which distinguished him. A man can hardly be naturally a tyrant who takes pleasure in meting out justice, and deciding questions of right. It was with real satisfaction therefore, we may believe, that Claudius suppressed the laws of majesty, and forbade the practice of delation; that he relinquished the most grievous exactions of his predecessor; that he promised never to subject a Roman citizen to torture; that he declined to raise the festivals of

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 14, 15.; Dion, lx. 4, 17. Comp. the satirical *Apocolocyntosis:* Si memoria repetis, ego eram qui tibi ante templum tuum jus dicebam totis diebus mense Julio et Augusto.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 15, 33.

his house to the dignity of national solemnities. When he repressed the encroachments of the freedmen, and caused false pretenders to the franchise to be capitally punished, and again when he withdrew the liberty which Caius had allowed to slaves of giving evidence against their masters, he consulted principles of Roman law to which the citizens attached considerable importance. It was not in the interests of humanity, but of a jealous and inquisitorial policy, that such indulgence had been granted to the slaves, and under the system of society at Rome it gave occasion to intolerable licence. The justice indeed of Claudius was little tempered with mercy. Under his reign more parricides, it was said, were adjudged to the ancient punishment of the sack than in all the ages that had elapsed before it.[1] Nevertheless, one of his enactments at least remains to show that his views with respect to the servile population were milder and more enlightened than those of previous legislators. He ordained that the sick slaves whom their masters abandoned or exposed in the temple of Æsculapius should, if they recovered, obtain their freedom; but if, as it may be feared was too often the case, they ridded themselves of these miserable dependants directly by death, he boldly declared that they should be held guilty of murder. We may hope that this sole recorded instance of his consideration for that degraded caste was in fact only a single specimen of a more extensive legislation.[2]

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V. In the construction of enormous works of

V. Material construc-

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 34.; Senec. *de Clem.* i. 23.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 25.: Quod si quis necare mallet quem quam exponere, cædis crimine teneri. Comp. Dion, lx. 13, 29.

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tions of Claudius.

magnificence or utility the Romans beheld the most flattering reflection of their own greatness. The undertakings of Claudius were not unworthy of the colossal age of material creations; yet they were not the mere fantastic conceptions of turgid pride and unlimited power. The vast aqueduct begun, as we have seen, by Caius, was completed, after several years' labour, by his successor, from whom it derived the name of Claudian, by which it was thenceforth distinguished. This channel secured for the city the purest and most abundant of all its supplies of water, and enriched the populace with the cheapest and most cherished of all its luxuries. The charges which have been made against Caius, of having withdrawn first the vessels, and afterwards the carts and waggons of Italy from their ordinary employment in the conveyance of corn and necessaries to the population, and of having left Rome at his death with no more than seven or eight days' consumption of grain in store, though involving probably considerable misrepresentation, seem, nevertheless, to have been grounded on the real imminence of the scarcity which broke out more than once, and lasted for several years, during the government of his successor. It must be considered among the difficulties with which the feeble old man had to contend, and it may serve to enhance our idea of the merits of his laborious administration, that he received from the reckless tyrant before him the legacy of empty granaries, as well as an exhausted treasury.[1] It is

[1] Aurel. Victor, *de Cæsar.* 4.; Senec. *de brev. vit.* 18.; C. Cæsar decedebat .... septem aut octo dierum cibaria superesse.

not impossible that the ready acquiescence of the senate in the choice of the prætorians was determined by the appalling prospect of a famine in the city, a popular riot, and a servile insurrection; and the republicans of the day may well have consented to waive their speculative principles in favour of an emperor, at a moment when the tribes and centuries of antiquity would have demanded the creation of a dictator. It has been seen that the Alexandrian corn ships always came to anchor at Puteoli, more than a hundred miles from the place of their cargo's destination. Such was the want of harbours or secure roadsteads along the surf-vexed strand of Latium, that it was only the smaller coasting vessels of Gaul or Spain that could venture to run to land at any nearer point. The mouth of the Tiber had become nearly choked up by the accumulation of sand, and the few vessels that now sought the quays of Ostia were generally obliged to ride at anchor in the offing. The Roman engineers despaired of clearing and keeping open a passage in the main stream of the river; but they now, under the direction of Claudius, resorted to the plan of cutting a new channel from the right bank, a little above the deserted harbour, and constructing an artificial haven, with the aid of two moles advanced into the sea. The entrance was illuminated by a light-house; and from henceforth, as long as science and industry survived in the capital of the world, the vessels which supplied it with its first necessary could come by day or by night to a safe and convenient anchorage, and transfer their freight to the barges, to be propelled

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The Portus Romanus, or new harbour at Ostia.

against the descending current by the labour of men or horses.[1] To this haven was given the name of Portus Romanus or Portus Augusti, to distinguish it from the now neglected establishment of Ostia. Claudius himself deserves the entire credit of this bold and salutary undertaking; for he persisted in it in spite of the remonstrances of his timid engineers, and of the vast outlay which it required. Its necessity was speedily shown; for in the eleventh year of his principate the empire was visited by a scarcity, which seems to have followed on the failure of the crops throughout the provinces, and redoubled exertions were required to save the capital from famine. The city was in an uproar; the multitude surrounded the emperor in the Forum, and assailed him with the most violent gestures.[2] The precautions of Augustus on similar occasions, with the expulsion of foreigners from the city, were again resorted to. It was evident that the importation of grain into Rome required to be more carefully systematized than had been done hitherto; and the completion of a harbour to which corn could be brought at all seasons of the year, was wisely followed by a measure to encourage

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 20.; Dion, lx. 11.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ix. 5., xvi. 76. § 2. An immense vessel, which Caius had constructed to convey an obelisk from Alexandria to Rome, was sunk to form the foundation of the mole.

[2] Four famines are specially mentioned as occurring in this reign:—1. at Rome in the first and second year; 2. in Judea in the fourth; 3. in Greece in the ninth; 4. at Rome in the eleventh. Brotier on Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43. Comp. Suet. *Claud.* 18.; Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xx. 2. 5.; *Act. Apost.* xi. 28.

the construction of ships of greater magnitude than had usually been employed in the trade.

The emissary of the lake Fucinus.

Another undertaking, though its object was merely of local utility, deserves to be recorded for its magnitude. The Marsians had represented to Augustus the disasters to which their country was liable from the swelling of the waters of the lake Fucinus, a basin among their mountains in the heart of Italy, nearly thirty miles in circumference, which receives the drainage of several valleys, but has no apparent natural outlet. Among the limestone hills which encircle it there are probably subterranean clefts through which, as in other regions of similar formation, some portion of its waters drains away; but, if such be the case, they are not capable of expansion with the increase of volume within, and in seasons of unusual wet the level of the lake rose to the lips of its crater, submerging a great extent of valuable land. The tunnel by which the superfluous waters of the Alban lake, a much smaller reservoir, are carried off to this day was a work of the early Republic. But this emissary is little more than a mile in length, while the perforation required for the Fucinus, which Augustus had not the courage to undertake, was not less than three. But Claudius was not deterred by difficulties which labour and a vast expenditure could surmount. He did not, perhaps, stop to calculate with accuracy the real utility of the work. He commanded it to be done, and his command was executed; but it occupied thirty thousand men for eleven years, an amount of labour which no doubt might have been more

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profitably employed in many other ways. Unlike the Alban tunnel, which has continued to discharge its waters without intermission for two and twenty centuries, the emissary of the Fucinus fell speedily into decay, and required to be repaired and restored to efficiency by a later emperor. It has now been completely choked up for many hundreds of years, and the meadows on the shelving bank of the lake are still subject, as in ancient times, to the caprices of the seasons.[1]

VI. Measures for the amusement of the citizens.

VI. Measures for the amusement of the populace may properly be mentioned next after such as were intended for its well being; for in the view of the Roman administrator the two were of co-ordinate and almost equal necessity. If, on the one hand, he provided the people with cheap corn, on the other, in order to leave them no reasonable pretext for discontent, he was careful to furnish them with the unfailing excitement of magnificent public exhibitions. Accordingly, if Claudius executed works of engineering of vast extent and grandeur, for supplying the metropolis with water, for securing the access of her richly-freighted flotillas, or for reducing the level of a periodical inundation, not less was he required to watch with simulated interest the long-protracted combats of men and beasts, in which the ferocious multitude expected their ruler to share all their own barbarous satisfaction. We have already admired the patience with which Augustus submitted to this tax upon his time and temper. Tiberius, we have seen,

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 20.; Dion, lx. 11.

could not school his stubborn mind to make a similar sacrifice. In Caius it was, apparently, in accordance with his own brutal taste; and in that single instance he was able to court popularity by the gratification of his own appetites. Claudius, patient and plodding by nature, regarded this condescension perhaps as a legitimate portion of the routine of office to which he had devoted himself; and he sate through the weary hours of popular amusement without interest, it may be believed, but, at the same time, without disgust. His constitutional insensibility did not even require the rest and diversion of mind which were commonly demanded even by the mass of the populace. In the shows of the amphitheatre, after the morning exhibitions, there was an interval allowed for rest or refreshment, during which the spectators retired for the most part from the spot, to resume their places at a later hour. Claudius, it was observed, rarely availed himself of this respite. His bodily infirmities perhaps made him averse from change and motion, and he was content to retain his seat in the imperial tribune, and witness the interludes of rope-dancing and jugglers' feats, which formed a languid entertainment in the intervals of bloodshed. It is said, indeed, that he was not satisfied with these innocent recreations, and sometimes called for a fresh supply of gladiators to fill the hours of suspense.[1] If the spectators made the demand it is not unlikely that he complied with it with his usual apathy. It is but too evident that the

The gladiatorial shows.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 34.; Dion, lx. 13.

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general taste for these atrocious spectacles was increasing, and under Claudius it certainly received no check. He suffered himself indeed to be made the tool of the popular humour in this and in other respects, condescending to bandy coarse jokes with the multitude from his tribunal, and degrading the majesty of empire to the level of vulgar buffoonery; nor can we resist the testimony of our authorities to the brutal indifference he displayed to human suffering, and his morbid curiosity in scrutinizing, and as it were analysing it in his victims.[1]

Augustus had exhibited the spectacle of a mock sea-fight in the basin he constructed on the bank of the Tiber, and Claudius directed a show of siege operations, and the storming of a city, in the meadows of the Campus Martius; but we do not read that on either of these occasions the illusion was carried to the extent of actual bloodshed. It was very different, however, with the extraordinary spectacle which Claudius, towards the close of his principate, exhibited on the Fucine lake, to celebrate the completion of his great work there, and inaugurate the admission of its water into the tunnel he had constructed. He summoned the population of Rome and Italy to witness from the amphitheatre of hills the manœuvres of two hostile fleets of triremes and quadriremes, manned by armies of gladiators, while vessels filled with soldiers were posted around the shores to prevent desertion, and cut off retreat. One authority

Grand spectacle of a sea-fight on the lake Fucinus.

[1] Suet. l. c.: Sævum et sanguinarium natura fuisse, magnis minimisque apparuit rebus. Tormenta quæstionum .... exigebat coram .... jugulari jubebat ut exspirantium facies videret.

states the size of the opposing armaments at twelve vessels each, another at fifty; while Tacitus, whose numbers are not generally excessive, declares that the combatants engaged were as many as nineteen thousand, and that the whole circuit of the lake was lined with the flotilla which guarded them; an exaggeration manifestly of the most flagrant kind. The refinements of luxury formed a horrid combination with the atrocity of the spectacle. Claudius, armed and cloaked as an Imperator, with his consort in a military mantle by his side, was seated on a throne overlooking the waters, attended by senators, knights, and soldiers. The combatants, who were styled Sicilians and Rhodians, defiled before him, and saluted him; and when he graciously returned their greeting, it was understood, we are told, as an intimation that the contest was not intended to be mortal.[1] When the vessels were drawn up in array, the figure of a Triton in silver was made to emerge suddenly from the lake, and sound the signal for the engagement. They went through the manœuvres of a sham fight, advancing and retreating, striking and rebounding from each other; but the emperor, we are told, was not satisfied with this peaceful display, but ordered the attack to commence in earnest. Dion assures us that, when the men hesitated to destroy one another, he caused his own flotilla to charge them, and cut them in pieces. Suetonius, more soberly, only suggests that he thought of doing so; but Tacitus here at least is more mo-

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 21.: Ave imperator, morituri te salutant.

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derate than either of his compeers, and announces that, *after many wounds*, the combatants were separated and dismissed. Such remarkable discrepancies in the relation of a matter of such patent notoriety, must put us on our guard against many of the astounding anecdotes of their times with which these authors perplex and provoke us.[1]—

Personal intemperance attributed to Claudius.

In reading of the shattered health and frame of the prince who was raised unwillingly to the throne from his desk, at a period far beyond the middle of life, untrained for government, and with no natural bent towards affairs, we cannot but admire the extraordinary force of the Roman character, which appears to have borne this feeble creature through labours which might task the highest powers and the happiest disposition. Yet this incessant strain of mind and body seems to have been favourable to his health, which recovered its tone under the labours of the principate. The wear and tear of so trying a life required no doubt the support of artificial stimulants; the excess in eating and drinking to which Claudius is said to have been addicted, and which has made his name notorious for gluttony, was at first perhaps no more than indulgence of the craving for nourishment which his exhausted powers naturally demanded. Encouraged by the artifice of the wives and parasites who ruled him, he lapsed more and

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 56.; Suet. *Claud.* 21.; Dion, lx. 33. It seems to have been in connexion with this exhibition that Claudius gave a banquet at the head of the emissary, at which the sudden rush of the water into the tunnel before the proper moment was very near causing a frightful catastrophe. Tacitus, c. 57.; Suet. c. 32.

more into gross intemperance, and the pains of indigestion, from which he suffered so acutely as to meditate, it was said, escaping from them by suicide, were caused, we may believe, by this habitual abuse.[1] His jaded appetite was excited by the splendour of his banquets and the numbers of the company: his viands were often spread in ample halls or pleasure-grounds, and his couches crowded by many hundreds of guests. On such occasions he gratified his senses to the utmost, and seldom rose from table till he had gorged himself to repletion, and required to relieve his overloaded stomach by vomiting. In judging of the character of the poor old man, whose private failings have been elevated into public notoriety, some allowance must be made for the coarseness of the times, and the ordinary licence of his associates. Nor must we forget how readily the scandalous anecdotes of the day were accepted by annalists and biographers as veritable history. With regard to women, the intemperance of which he is accused may be confined, or nearly so, to the ease with which he passed from the caresses of one lawful wife to those of a successor: of all the Cæsars Claudius stands, on the whole, the most nearly free from the charge of illicit and disgraceful indulgences.[2] But now for the first time

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 31. I have read somewhere in Seneca, that the stone and the stomach-ache are the only ills of the flesh which justify the wise man in committing suicide.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 33. Two of his female favourites are named by Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 30.), and Dion has a passing remark on his intemperance with regard both to wine and women. But the particulars of his alleged excesses, from which his gluttony has become so gene-

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at Rome the story of the prince's wives becomes the history of the principate; the city of Scipio and Augustus recedes for a moment from our view, and we seem to stray, as in a wayward dream, through the saloons of Versailles or Aranjuéz.

rally infamous, are confined to the scandalous chronicle of his biographer.

CHAPTER L.

CLAUDIUS SUBJECT TO THE INFLUENCE, 1. OF WOMEN: HIS WIVES: MESSALINA. 2. OF FREEDMEN: POLYBIUS, NARCISSUS, ETC. — TREATMENT OF THE SISTERS OF CAIUS. — BANISHMENT OF SENECA. — DEATH OF APPIUS SILANUS. — CONSPIRACY OF SCRIBONIANUS. — INVASION OF BRITAIN AND TRIUMPH OF CLAUDIUS. — DEATH OF VALERIUS ASIATICUS. — INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF CLAUDIUS. — RIVALRY OF MESSALINA AND AGRIPPINA. — MESSALINA'S AMOUR WITH SILIUS, AND DARING MARRIAGE WITH HIM. — ALARM AND ANGER OF CLAUDIUS. — HER DISGRACE AND DEATH. — INTRIGUES FOR A SUCCESSOR. — CLAUDIUS MARRIES AGRIPPINA. — HER SON DOMITIUS BETROTHED TO HIS DAUGHTER OCTAVIA: ADOPTED UNDER THE NAME OF NERO. — INFLUENCE OF AGRIPPINA: SHE FOUNDS THE COLONIA AGRIPPINENSIS. — ADVANCING POPULARITY OF NERO. — AGRIPPINA EFFECTS THE DESTRUCTION OF LEPIDA. — SHE POISONS CLAUDIUS. — NERO SUCCEEDS TO POWER. — REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF CLAUDIUS. — THE ADORATION PAID HIM DURING HIS LIFE BY SENECA, AND ABUSE OF HIM AFTER HIS DEATH. — THE APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. — FLATTERY OF NERO. (A. U. 794—807. A. D. 41—54.)

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Claudius subjected to the influence of women.

THE ruler to whom the conduct of affairs was now entrusted had been bred, beyond the usual term of infancy, by the women of the imperial household; for the weakness of his sickly frame still required the care of female nursing at an age when the young Roman was ordinarily transferred to his tutors and the masters of his athletic exercises. To the last he continued to feel the need of the petty attentions and ministrations of the gentler

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sex. In early adolescence his guardians proposed to provide for his domestic comfort by espousing him to consorts of their own selection; but of those who were successively selected for the honour two were lost to him before marriage; the one being rejected on account of the offence her parents had given to Augustus, the other dying untowardly on the day appointed for the nuptials.[1] Claudius was at last united to Plautia Urgulanilla, who, to judge from the names she thus combined, was the daughter perhaps of Plautius Silvanus, a distinguished commander in Pannonia, whose tragic story has been related under the principate of Tiberius, and was descended from Urgulania, the proudest of the friends of Livia.[2] By this noble bride Claudius became the father of two children: the first of them was the Drusus to whom the daughter of Sejanus was affianced almost at his birth, and who died in infancy; the second was a girl and received the name of Claudia. But when her mother was detected intriguing with a freedman of the household, and repudiated by her husband, Claudius disowned the wretched infant, and shocked the Romans by causing it, at the age of five months, to be ruthlessly abandoned.[3] By

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 26. The first was Æmilia Lepida, the great granddaughter of Augustus, being the child of his granddaughter Julia by L. Paullus, and sister of M. Æmilius Lepidus, the friend and victim of Caius Caligula; the second, Livia Medullina, of the family of the Camilli.

[2] For Plautius Silvanus, see Tac. *Ann.* iv. 22.; Vell. ii. 112.; Dion, lv. 34. He was the grandson of Urgulania, the friend of Livia. See above, chap. xliii. p. 115.

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 27. It seems not unlikely that this horrid act was perpetrated in imitation of Augustus, who forbade the infant of the

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Ælia Petina, the daughter perhaps of Ælius Tubero, to whom he next united himself, he had one child only, whom he called after his mother Antonia, and who became affianced to Cnæus Pompeius Magnus, the son of a Crassus, who thus, by a strange favour of fortune, combined a descent from two triumvirs, with an alliance with the families of three others.[1] The union with Petina lasted probably some years; and it was in the reign of Caius, as we may suppose, that Claudius divorced himself from her on some trifling disagreement. A third marriage with Valeria Messalina speedily followed: the two children she bore him came into the world towards the commencement of his principate.[2] The shamelessness of the women of the higher ranks at this period has been noticed on former occasions: the precariousness of the position they held in marriage seems to have made them despair of acquiring, or at least of long retaining, domestic influence; and they too often abandoned themselves without restraint to indulgences, from which they had no motives either of

younger Julia to be nourished. But to cast away a child which had once been *taken up*, was an abuse of the paternal authority from which the feelings of the Romans revolted.

[1] For Ælius Tubero, see Tac. *Ann.* xii. 1.

[2] The son, who received a few years after his birth the surname of Britannicus, had completed, according to Tacitus, his fourteenth year in 808 (*Ann.* xiii. 15.), and was, therefore, born A.U. 794: if, however, he was only two years younger than Nero (see *Ann.* xii. 25.), he must have been born as early as 792 or 793. Suetonius also contradicts himself in saying that the child was born on the 20th day after his father's accession (*i. e.* in Feb. 794), and in his second consulship; for this did not commence till 795. I take the middle of these dates, viz. Feb. 794. It does not appear whether the daughter, called Octavia, was older or younger than her brother.

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affection or prudence to withhold them. Of all the Roman matrons, however, Messalina has acquired the most infamous celebrity: her name has been used from that time even to our own as the greatest byword of reproach to her sex; the satirist has striven in vain to inflame the glowing colours which the historian has flashed upon her crimes. As the wife of a man whom she probably despised, it would seem absurd to suppose that she put any unusual check upon the wanton passions of her class; yet we may see reason hereafter to question, at least to their full extent, the vicious characteristics for which she has been so signally notorious.

Character and influence of Messalina.

Messalina was the daughter of Valerius Messala Barbatus, sometimes called also Messalinus, who stood in the relation of cousin to Claudius by marriage; for his wife, Domitia Lepida, was a granddaughter, while Claudius was himself the grandson of the triumvir Antonius. This Lepida seems to have been herself dissolute as well as ambitious, and such were the qualities which descended from her to her child.[1] Nevertheless Messalina, at the time when she consented to attach herself to the fortunes of Claudius, could have had no prospect of a throne. However little she may have regarded her husband, she clung no doubt to the position she had acquired with him, with all the more vehemence as it was

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 64. Domitia Lepida was sister to Cn. Domitius, the husband, as will be afterwards recorded, of Agrippina minor, and father of the Emperor Nero. She was daughter to L. Domitius by Antonia *major*, according to Suetonius,—*minor*, according to Tacitus, less correctly, — and, therefore, granddaughter of the triumvir Antonius and Octavia. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 44.; Suet. *Ner.* 5.

strange and unexpected, and all her most earnest efforts, her vices and her crimes, would be directed, we may justly suppose, to securing it. Whatever may have been the irregularity of her conduct, it was doubtless her wish to disguise it from him, and she succeeded in keeping him convinced, at least to the last moment, of her entire devotedness. But his character, she knew, was too weak to let her put entire trust in his convictions: he was, in fact, constantly swayed by the influence of one or another of those about him; the whisper of a friend or courtier might blast her dearest schemes, and her intrigues were unceasingly directed to securing in her interest the persons by whom he was most closely surrounded. For this purpose, we are assured, she amassed money and she lavished favours. She joined with the ministers of the court in selling appointments to the wealthiest applicants, in extorting bribes by threats and prosecutions, in procuring the confiscation of the estates of nobles, and persuading the emperor to bestow them upon herself; and thus enriched, she sought to bind her accomplices to her side by dividing her plunder with them, and entangling them in her fascinating caresses. Perilous as such a guilty commerce was, she carried it on with a boldness that ensured success, and continued during several years to enjoy the full confidence of her husband, while she closed the lips both of her paramours and victims. But the connexion in which she may thus have placed herself with the freedmen of the palace, the real ministers of the court and instruments of the imperial pleasure, has proved fatal at least to her

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reputation with posterity. Whatever were her vices and domestic treasons, they might have been overlooked perhaps by historians, who were generally content to rebuke the petulance and ambition of women with a contemptuous sneer[1]; but no infamy could be too atrocious to charge upon the matron who was guilty of a criminal association with a Polybius or Narcissus, the vile Grecian ministers of a Roman imperator, the men who sounded a lower depth even in the depths of delation, by sacrificing the best blood of Quirinus to the cupidity of branded and base-born foreigners.

The regimen of the freedmen.

The regimen of women who trafficked in the offices of states, an enormity hitherto unknown in Rome, and appalling to the eyes of constitutional purists, might have been regarded as the last degradation of the commonwealth, had it not been followed by the still more degrading regimen of freedmen. Next to his women it was by his freedmen that Claudius, we are told, was governed. The facility of enfranchisement has been already mentioned. We have seen how the slaves of a noble household were of two very different classes; of which the lower consisted of mere menial drudges, the rude boors of Thrace, Africa, or Cappadocia; while the upper, from Greece and Syria, comprised the polished instruments of fas-

[1] It was Valerius Messala, or Messalinus, the father of the empress, who had resisted, in the time of Tiberius, the proposition that the wives of provincial governors should be forbidden to accompany their husbands abroad. He had used the proud old Roman argument: Viri in eo culpam si fœmina modum excedat. This man and Aurelius Cotta Messalinus seem to have both been sons of Messala Corvinus. See Ruperti on Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 32.

tidious luxury, exquisitely trained and educated, and accustomed, by every compliance, however abject, to ingratiate themselves with their sensual and pampered masters. While the former class had little hope perhaps of improving their condition, or escaping, if not prematurely worn out by toil, a neglected and even an abandoned old age, the latter might calculate with confidence on securing their freedom early, after which they enjoyed a thousand opportunities of rendering themselves as necessary to their patron as they had previously been to their master. The intercourse of the Roman noble with his fellow-citizens had been always stiff and ceremonious: community of privilege gave even the plebeian a claim to formal respect from his patrician neighbour; and it was rarely that the ties of confidence and easy friendship subsisted between men so nearly equal in consideration, so often rivals, and always liable to become so. But the Roman magnate wearied of the unceasing round of conventionalities in which he moved, and longed for associates with whom he might unbend in real familiarity, without demeaning himself to the company of mere slaves. The fashion of employing freedmen for the service of the patrician household, and the management of domestic affairs, was first imported into Rome by the conquerors of the East,—by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompeius;—who were too proud, after enjoying the submission of kings and potentates, to recognise the equality of their fellow-citizens. Cæsar indeed, with his usual magnanimity, had disdained to avail himself of this un-

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worthy indulgence. The ascendency he naturally exercised over all that came in contact with him, enabled him to secure the spontaneous services of men of birth and consideration hardly inferior to his own, such as Matius, Oppius, and Hirtius. Such were the stewards of his revenues, the managers of his public and private benevolences, Romans in birth and blood, men attached to him by real friendship, but who felt that they could ply without disgrace before his acknowledged superiority. But even the inheritor of a throne had no such personal influence as nature's emperor, the first of the Cæsars. Augustus, great as he was in genius as well as in station, scarcely found such willing subservience among the citizens of his native country. Agrippa became too powerful to continue really his friend; the self-respect even of a Mæcenas grew at last irksome to him. He had recourse to the venal attachment of his freedmen, whose fidelity exacted no requital, and hardly expected an acknowledgment; and of these he held many in intimacy, and cultivated their esteem. The names of Polybius and Hilarion, of Licinus, Eunus, and Celadus, occur in history or inscriptions among the trusty freedmen of the first Princeps.[1] He neither required of them degrading services, nor again did he suffer them to gorge themselves on the spoils of suitors for his favour. He enjoyed the solace and convenience of their intimacy, and when most anxious for privacy, and the ever-coveted respite from the irksome formalities of patrician life, it was in the suburban villa of one of these

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 67, 101. with notes of Baumgarten-Crusius.

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humble ministers that he would disburden himself of the cares of his station.[1] Tiberius, whose strict self-discipline, at least till the latter years of his retirement, was even more severe and unremitting, allowed himself no such relaxation; his freedmen were few in number, and seem to have enjoyed no portion of his confidence. The perturbed spirit of Caius was agitated by restless furies which never suffered him to seek repose, or court the charms of simplicity for a moment. During the fitful fever of his brief grasp of power, he never threw off the public man and the sovereign; he never sought the shade, or cast upon another the cares and toils of his awful preeminence. None ever possessed more than a momentary influence over him. But the fashion of keeping freedmen always in attendance upon the Roman noble had become, from the prevailing indolence and self-indulgence of the age, by this time general, and Caius had many such about his court, though he deigned to make little use of them. When, therefore, a prince succeeded to whom ministers and private confidants were a necessity, the institution was found ready to his hands. The various services, partly official, partly menial, which monarchs in modern times have been allowed by the spirit of feudalism to exact from their noble vassals, were discharged for Claudius by these Grecian adventurers. Polybius was the director of his studies, who unrolled for him perhaps the dusty volumes of Etruscan lore, in which he pretended to instruct his countrymen. Narcissus was his secretary; Pallas was his

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 72.

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steward. To Felix, the brother of Pallas, he gave the command of a province and an army. The eunuch Posides, whatever his special functions may have been, was among that class of his intimate attendants which the Roman borrowed from the domestic establishments of the East. Narcissus was the most confidential of his advisers; Harpocras, Myron, Amphæus, and Pheronactes Drusillanus are mentioned, though with no specified offices, among the friends and favourites, who participated in the cares, or amused the leisure of a patron who lacked the faculty of originating for himself either his employments or his diversions.[1] These were the men who secured the intimacy of the chief of the Roman nobility; they occupied his attention to the exclusion of senators and consulars; they suggested the measures of his administration, engaged favourable audiences for foreign potentates, directed the appointment of proconsuls and legates, controlled the march of armies and the campaigns of imperators: these were the men who determined with Messalina who should be the victims of delation, who were the fattest for sacrifice, who the most pliant for corruption; to these every noble Roman, every wealthy foreigner, paid his court by presents and flatteries; upon these Messalina bestowed her own favours, and procured for them within the walls of the palace itself the noblest women of Rome.[2] Most of these men amassed colossal fortunes; the wealth of Pallas and Narcissus became proverbial; and when Clau-

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 28.; Senec. *Apocol.* 14.; Tertull. *de pall.* 5.
[2] Suet. *Claud.* 24.; Dion, lx. 2, 17, 18.

dius was once heard to complain of the slenderness of his own imperial revenues, it was replied that he would be rich enough if his two wealthy freedmen would deign to take him into partnership.[1] Both the one and the other of these favourites were honoured by the senate with the insignia of the prætorship and quæsture, though it was impossible to admit them to those offices themselves, and they were loaded, moreover, with enormous grants of public money.[2] As long as the good understanding between the empress and the freedmen was maintained by mutual compliances, the emperor remained the infatuated victim of their heinous conspiracy. He continued to be deluded for years with the notion that he was governing Rome with the energy of an ancient consul or dictator, but his operations, contrived and guided by their hands, were little more than the mere shadows of sovereignty: if he made the laws, the administration of them, in which alone the real government of the empire consisted, was still subjected to their control, and was exercised from East to West by their creatures. Claudius, under the influence of his wives and children, enacted not their prince but their minister.[3]

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[1] Suet. *Claud.* 28.: Abundaturum si a duobus libertis in consortium reciperetur. Of Narcissus Dion says (lx. 34.), μυριάδας πλείους μυρίων εἶχε, καὶ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ βασιλεῖς. Of Pallas Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 53.): Pallanti centies quadragies sestertium censuit consul designatus. Juvenal, i. 108.: Ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinis.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 38., xii. 53. Pliny (*Epp.* vii. 29., viii. 6.) mentions the Senatusconsultum, and the monument erected to Pallas with an inscription.

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 29.: His uxoribusque deditus, non principem sed ministrum egit.

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Such at least is the conclusion to which the concurrent testimony of all our authorities would lead us. Nevertheless, if the evil influences of the Claudian court were so paramount as they are described, it must be deemed strange that the public policy of the times was so well directed, and on the whole so nobly executed, as we have seen it to have been, and that the horrors of the reign of Messalina and the freedmen are confined for the most part to the interior of the palace, or to subjects on which it was never possible to obtain a free access to the truth. It will be seen, as we proceed, that the worst enormities of the government of Claudius refer to affairs on which we are quite unable to speak with certainty; while the merits of his principate, whatever estimate we may form of them, relate precisely to the matters which are most patent to the judgment of history. Upon this circumstance we can speculate no further at present; but it is necessary that the reader's attention should thus far, in the outset, be drawn to it. To return, however, to the narrative before us. Even in the first year of the new reign, while the public conduct of the emperor, both at home and abroad, was earning merited applause, the imperial family was torn with jealousies, and harassed perhaps by mutual intrigues. Among the first acts of Claudius was the recall from banishment of the sisters of Caius: but Messalina, it is said, was jealous of the fascinations of Julia, and, irritated at the secret interviews she was reported to enjoy with her uncle, succeeded in driving her once more into exile for her reputed irregularities.

Recall of the sisters of Caius, and second banishment of Julia.

Her punishment was shared by the philosopher Seneca, who was alleged to have criminally intrigued with her. He was confined, by a decree of the senate, to the rude and pestilential shores of the island of Corsica.[1] Here he was detained for some years, apparently till the fall of Messalina herself; yet it is at least remarkable, that his voice, which has uttered, as we shall see hereafter, some of the most fierce denuntiations of the crimes and vices of the emperor, should be totally silent on the reputed enormities of the empress. It has already been noticed that Caius had intended to put the great Stoic moralist to death for no other reason than the reputation of his wealth, and at a later period we again read of him as one of the richest men of his time. It would seem, therefore, that on this occasion he was not deprived of his estates; and if Messalina was really the promoter of his exile, the prosecution cannot be imputed to the cupidity which is so generally ascribed to her. Of the wretched Julia we hear no more but that the malice of her persecutors was not yet satisfied, and that she was not suffered long to survive her second disgrace.[2]

A.D. 41. A.U. 794. Banishment of Seneca.

The year 795 was marked, according to the same authorities, by a crime of still deeper atrocity, ascribed to the same baneful influence. The shamelessness of the empress, and the weakness of

Death of Appius Silanus.

[1] Dion, lx. 8.; Senec. *Consol. ad Polyb.* 30, 32. Claudius, says Seneca, me dejecit quidem, sed impulsum a fortuna et cadentem sustinuit, et in præceps euntem leniter divinæ manus usus moderatione deposuit. An enemy of Seneca denounces him at a later period as domus Germanici adulterum. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 42.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 29.; Dion, lx. 8, 18.

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the man she governed, were strikingly exemplified in the frightful death of Appius Silanus.[1] This nobleman, the head at this period of the great Junian house, was connected with the Æmilii, the Cassii, and with the Cæsars themselves: Claudius proposed to draw still closer the bonds of alliance between their families, and strengthen thereby the bulwarks of his own imperial throne.[2] With this view he recalled him from the command of a province in Spain, united him in marriage with the mother of the empress, and affianced his son to his own daughter Octavia, then a tender infant. But, from whatever cause, Messalina, it seems, conceived an implacable enmity against him: it was surmised that she had cast upon him amorous glances which he had not deigned to return; at all events, she resolved, we are assured, on his destruction, and concerted with the freedman Narcissus an extraordinary plan for its accomplishment. Early one morning the favourite, for Narcissus at this moment stood foremost in his patron's graces, burst suddenly into his apartment, with affected alarm and anxiety, and related that he had dreamt that night that the emperor had been murdered by Silanus. Messalina, the partner

[1] Dion (lx. 14.) calls him erroneously Caius Appius Silanus: his prænomen was Appius, and his nomen Junius.

[2] Appius Silanus was married first to Æmilia Lepida, the great granddaughter of Augustus, through the two Julias. By her he had two sons, Marcus and Lucius, and a daughter Junia Calvina. Lepidus the triumvir and Cassius the tribune were among the connexions of this family. Caius Caligula had married Claudia or Claudilla, daughter of a M. Silanus, consul in 772. See the Genealogical Tables at the end of this chapter.

of the imperial chamber, thereupon declared that, strange to relate, the very same vision had occurred also to herself. Claudius was horrified and bewildered. At the next moment Silanus presented himself, according to a previous appointment; but in his consternation the appointment had slipped altogether from the emperor's memory, and he beheld in his unseasonable intrusion only a proof of his meditated crime. The confederates seized their advantage: they hastily extorted from their wretched dupe an order for their victim's arrest and immediate execution; and the next day Claudius recounted the occurrence to the assembled senate, and publicly thanked the faithful servant who, even in his sleep, had watched over his patron's safety.[1] In this or similar ways many others, we are assured, met their deaths also, who seemed to stand in the way of Messalina and her audacious confederate. Whenever they wanted to rid themselves of an enemy, nothing was easier than to excite the apprehensions of the miserable dotard against him, and procure a sentence of death, banishment, or disgrace. In his moments of terror he was ready to subscribe his name to any order of cruelty or injustice: as soon as the paroxysm had subsided, he would forget all that had passed, and was known to inquire sometimes the next day for the persons he had so recently consigned to the executioner, and to wonder at their absence from his table. When reminded of the cause of their non-appear-

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 37.; Dion, l. c. Tacitus alludes to this murder. *Ann.* xi. 29.

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ance, he was visibly surprised and mortified.[1] It seems probable that this imputation of extraordinary weakness and obliviousness is no more than a perversion of some actual instances of absence of mind, not unpardonable, perhaps, in one so painfully occupied with cares and manifold occupations; but we have seen enough of the earnestness and general good sense of his character to question the truth of charges which would ascribe to him, while yet in the full activity of his faculties, whatever they may have been, the infatuation of second childishness.

Conspiracy of Vinicianus and Scribonianus.

Meanwhile the spirit of resistance to the imperial tyranny which had so long slumbered in the breasts of a crushed and trampled aristocracy, but had at last awakened under the insane despotism of Caius, continued to pervade the ranks of the senate and knights. The blow struck by Chærea had been, as we have seen, almost accidental; it was unconnected, at least, with any general conspiracy; and the sudden resolve of the prætorians found the chiefs of the state unprepared and vacillating. But, since the opportunity for acting had passed away, many plans of action had been discussed and concerted. The ease with which the tyrant had been overthrown astonished the men who had so long shrunk from the attempt. The obtrusion of a weak, but not the less, as it soon appeared, a dangerous despot upon them, though at first sullenly acquiesced in, was all the more deeply resented. A common sympathy drew together many of the nobles to overthrow the existing govern-

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 39.; Dion, l. c.

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ment and replace it by a better system, or at least by a better man. Their eyes were cast upon Annius Vinicianus, as apparently the fittest of their order to reconstruct the authority of the senate. But the fruitless act of the gallant tribune had warned them that it was not enough merely to strike down the occupant of the throne; it was necessary to secure the support of a legionary force, sufficiently powerful to control the prætorians, and protect the cradle of the new-born child of liberty. Of the special claims of Vinicianus to the post assigned him we have no account; from his name we may conjecture that he was a Vinicius, allied to the reigning family, and adopted into the ancient house of the Annii. Among the conspirators was Furius Camillus Scribonianus, proconsul of Dalmatia; and this man, endeared perhaps to the troops he commanded by the late successes of a Camillus in Africa, if not by the recollection of his ancestor's exploits against the Gauls, offered to bring a force of legionaries and allies to support the contemplated movement. Intoxicated with the confidence of success, he hurled defiance at the emperor from his camp beyond the Adriatic, and summoned him contemptuously to descend from his throne and hide his head in obscurity. Claudius, we are assured, was smitten with the direst consternation. He took the warning of the rebel legate into serious consideration, and actually debated with his courtiers on the necessity of submission.[1] But the vaunts of Camillus, as it soon appeared, were empty

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 13, 35.; Dion, lx. 15. Tacitus alludes to the event, which he had narrated in one of his lost books, in *Ann.* xii. 52.

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and ineffectual. When he disclosed his intentions to the soldiers, and invited them to follow him into Italy, in the name of the ancient republic, he found them altogether indifferent, or rather hostile to a cry they scarcely comprehended. When they turned their swords against him he had no resource but in a speedy flight to an island off the coast; and even there he seems to have been speedily surprised and killed by one of his angry officers named Volaginius.[1] The legions which had behaved with such unexpected fidelity were loaded with caresses by the emperor. The Seventh and Eleventh received from the senate the appellations of Claudian, Pious, and Faithful. The discovery of the plot was followed by a bloody proscription of the guilty and the suspected. The chiefs of the conspiracy, Vinicianus and others, were subjected to judicial sentence; others escaped condemnation by voluntary deaths. Claudius in his terror forgot his honourable regulations regarding the testimony of slaves, and invited denunciations without scruple from every quarter: yet it is recorded that he generally spared the families of the guilty, and remitted in their favour the confiscation of the forfeited estates. Among the sufferers was one only of the rank of prætor; and he was required to abdicate his office, before the emperor would subject him to the punishment of the sword. Narcissus and Polybius, supported by Messalina,

[1] Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 75.) mentions this deed, the name of the soldier, and the fact of his receiving high promotion in consequence. It is curious that a circumstance, apparently so notorious, should have been unknown to Dion, who says that Camillus threw himself on his own sword.

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bore the principal odium of this inquisition; those who suffered, and those who escaped, were supposed to owe their fortune respectively to the demands for their condemnation or acquittal which the court-favourites thought fit to advance, and these, in either case, sought only their personal emolument. The famous and affecting story of Arria and Pætus, though spoilt a little in the telling by Martial, has made this proscription classical.[1]

Strange inconsistency in the accounts of the conduct of Claudius.

It might easily be believed that the discovery of this formidable combination against his life and power rendered the shy and suspicious emperor from henceforth a mere puppet in the hands of his advisers.[2] Then commenced, we might suppose, in real earnest the reign of Messalina and the freedmen: from thenceforth the pretended ruler of the state might be expected to withdraw more and more from public observation, and every affair of government to be transacted by the agency of his confidential instruments. The man who had deliberated on retiring from power at the first challenge of an audacious rival, who again, after the suppression of the revolt, essayed, as we are assured, to abdicate, but was prevented by influence behind the throne, could scarcely recover cou-

[1] Suet. Dion, ll. cc. The story of Arria and Pætus is told at length by the younger Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 16. Comp. Martial, i. 14.

[2] There is an obscure reference to a second attempt against Claudius by Asinius Gallus, son of the Gallus whom Tiberius had put to death, and Statilius Corvinus, the one the grandson of Pollio, the other of Messala, in Suetonius, *Claud.* 13. and Dion, lx. 27. The conspiracy was abortive, and its authors seem to have been treated with contemptuous lenity. Of Gallus Dion says, σμικρότατος καὶ δυσειδέστατος ὢν, κἀκ τούτου καταφρονηθείς, γέλωτα μᾶλλον ἢ κίνδυνον ὤφλεν.

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rage to wield the sceptre of the world from the height of the Palatium.[1] Accordingly, we may picture to ourselves the corruption which would now pervade every department of public affairs, subject as they were to the control of a degraded and venal crew, and veiled by their contrivance from the scrutiny of the nominal head of the empire. We may imagine the wiles of the depraved and wanton Messalina; how she steeped the senses of her consort in brutal indulgences; how she pandered to his grossest appetites, while she gratified her own amorous caprices or satiated her cupidity unobserved. All this, indeed, and more stands recorded on the page of what is designated as the history of Rome; and it is only here and there that a corner of the veil is raised, and we are permitted to see the unfortunate Claudius still acting as emperor of the Romans, still presiding at the tribunals, still listening with patience, if not with favour, to the pertinacious attacks upon his own powerful freedmen, which the most eloquent pleader of the day did not hesitate to launch against them[2], still assisting at the deliberations of the

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 36.

[2] Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* vi. 3, 81.: Afer cum ageret contra libertum Claudii Cæsaris, et ex diverso quidam conditionis ejusdem, cujus erat litigator, exclamasset, Præterea tu semper in libertos Cæsaris dicis: Nec mehercule, inquit, quidquam proficio. This was the same Domitius Afer who had aided Sejanus in persecuting the family of Germanicus, and who had pretended to be overcome by the eloquence of Caius. Pliny and Quintilian speak of him as the greatest orator of his time, and we have seen that he was one of the supplest of courtiers. Yet he stood up against the freedmen of Claudius, and survived most of them, dying at last in prosperity and honour in the sixth year of Nero. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 19.

senate, still controlling the affairs of provinces and nations, devising schemes and settling the details of colonization, thirsting for military toils in addition to his intense application to business at home, and, coward as we are assured he was, actually quitting Rome, the focus of hostile intrigue, and throwing himself, like another Augustus, into the wildest fastnesses of barbarian enemies. Such are the strange inconsistencies of the history before us, which it only remains for us to set over against one another, but which we cannot pretend to reconcile or explain.

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Accordingly, the year 796, the next which followed upon the abortive attempt of the malcontent nobles, witnessed the progress of Claudius with military pomp from Ostia into the heart of Britain, an expedition the particulars of which shall be reserved for another chapter, when they can be represented in connexion with the general history of the reduction of our island. Claudius was absent from the city six months. On his return he was greeted by the senate with a decree for a triumph, an honour which the success of his enterprise had not unfairly merited.[1] He assumed in token of his exploits the title of Britannicus, an appellation which was communicated, moreover, to his infant son, and which has superseded in history the name of Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, by which the child had been originally designated.

Campaign and triumph of Claudius.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 17.; Tac. *Agric.* 13.; Dion, lx. 19. foll.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 16. On his return Claudius seems to have abandoned the Æmilian Way, and embarked on the canal by which Augustus connected the Po with the Adriatic at Ravenna. Plin. *H. N.* iii. 20.

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The triumph of Claudius was rendered remarkable by his voluntary self-humiliation in climbing the steps of the Capitoline temple on his knees, an act performed, perhaps, in imitation of Julius Cæsar.[1] It was followed by solemn games, and was made the occasion of bestowing many gracious distinctions, both civil and military, on the most deserving officers of the state. If Claudius was proud of appearing to rival Augustus, not less did he pique himself on comparing his beloved Messalina to the chaste and noble Livia. To her accordingly, as to the consort of the first Princeps before her, were decreed at his instance a seat of honour by her husband's side on all public occasions, and the permission to ride in the carpentum, which had formerly been forbidden to the sex by the law of Oppius, and was still generally confined to sacerdotal personages at the greatest solemnities.[2] So unworthy, however, was the chief of the Roman matrons of these honourable distinctions, that when the brass coinage of Caius was called in by the decree of the senate, she obtained the metal to cast of it statues of a dancer named Mnester, with whom she was furiously smitten.[3] Like so many others of the men on whom she fixed her admiration,

[1] Dion, lx. 20. See above, chapter xix. vol. ii. p. 391.

[2] Dion, l. c.; Suet. *Claud.* 17. Comp. *Calig.* 15. He had previously made an exception in favour of his mother Antonia. Of the use of the carpentum Tacitus says (*Ann.* xii. 42.), Qui mos sacerdotibus et sacris antiquitus concessum.

[3] The senate, according to Dion, caused the brass coinage which bore the head of Caius to be melted down from disgust at the tyrant's memory. Dion, l. c.: καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν τοῦτο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ὁ χάλκος ἐχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνδριάντας, κ. τ. λ. I have already shown that there is reason to surmise that this coinage was debased, and am disposed to doubt the whole of Dion's story concerning it.

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Mnester, if we may believe the historians, was moved neither by caresses nor menaces to gratify her, and was at last only driven into her embraces by the express command of the emperor himself, to whom she had ventured shamelessly to apply for it. In this and many other cases, we are told, Messalina solicited a like indulgence from her fond and facile spouse, and he without hesitation complied.[1] At other times, when she wandered from the imperial couch in quest of the coarsest gratifications, she would cause one of her handmaids to take her place by the side of the besotted slumberer.[2] It seems necessary to say thus much upon the subject, disgusting as our authorities have represented it, in order to show how grossly improbable are the details of Messalina's licentiousness, and to guard the reader against too easy a belief in some astounding incidents which have yet to be related.

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Messalina's progress in wickedness.

We seem, indeed, in perusing the narrative before us, to be weltering in a dream of horrors, which, nevertheless, exert over us a kind of fascination, and however we may pause at intervals to question the phantasms they present to us, forbid us to shake off our constrained assent to their reality. The destruction of Julia, which had followed shortly after her second banishment, was succeeded at no long interval by the death of her husband Vinicius. Messalina, says the historian,

[1] Dion, l. c.: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνοὺς ἔπραττεν.

[2] Dion, lx. 18. compared with the well-known passage in the sixth satire of Juvenal. Aurelius Victor and the elder Pliny repeat also some scandalous stories which bear on their faces strong marks of a prurient invention. It will appear from her mother's age, which will be noticed by and by, that Messalina must have been married from the nursery. She can hardly have been more than eighteen at this time.

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was apprehensive of his vengeance: Messalina, adds the historian in the same sentence, was incensed at his repudiation of her licentious advances. If such different statements are not in themselves absolutely incompatible, it will be admitted at least that they are open to suspicion; and when we find that the overthrow of Vinicius was effected by no overt act, no public charge and judicial sentence, but was popularly ascribed to the occult agency of poison administered by the contrivance of the empress, a cloud of distrust must be allowed to rest upon the whole story.[1] Hitherto we have been left to the inferior authority of Dion or Suetonius; but now, at last, we seem to recover the guidance of a firmer hand, and the next act of Messalina's wickedness is described in the pages of Tacitus. The great chasm in this writer's annals extends from the death of Tiberius, at the end of his sixth, to the seventh year of Claudius, in the middle of his eleventh book.[2]

Destruction of Valerius Asiaticus.

In this year, the 800th of the city, Valerius Asiaticus, whose high position among the nobles of Rome has already been mentioned, was one of the consuls. The connexion imputed to him with a woman of rank named Poppæa is said to have given offence to Messalina: she coveted, moreover, the famous gardens of Lucullus on the Pincian hill, which he had inherited, and which he was adorning with more magnificence than ever. She induced a delator named Suilius to assail the pair with a charge of adultery, and caused Sosibius, the tutor of her child Britannicus, to suggest to the emperor at the same time how dangerous were the

[1] Dion, lx. 27.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 1.

wealth and influence of such a man, one who was supposed to have been among the chief instigators of the murder of Caius, who had extolled the act and claimed glory for it in public, whose high consideration extended from the city to the provinces, and who, it was reported, was about to betake himself to Gaul, of which he was a native, and where he had many great connexions, and place himself at the head of the Germanic legions. The army was already becoming an object of jealousy to the emperor. Claudius was in a moment alarmed at the prospect of rebellion and civil war. He immediately summoned his guards, and sent Crispinus, the prefect of the prætorians, with a detachment to Baiæ, where Asiaticus was seized in his villa, thrown into chains, and hurried to the city. The consul was not allowed to defend himself before the senate: the trial, if such it may be called, was conducted in the private apartments of the emperor, in the presence of his creatures and freedmen. Charges of licentiousness and of treasonable practices were strangely mixed up together, and advanced against him by Suilius and Messalina herself; but these he treated with lofty disregard, till the imputation of disgraceful effeminacy roused the spirit of the Roman noble within him. His energetic and passionate defence had great effect upon Claudius, and even drew tears of sensibility from the empress, who slipped out of the room to conceal her emotion, whispering only to a confederate, as she passed, that the criminal, nevertheless, must not be suffered to escape.[1] Asiaticus

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 2.

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was remanded, but Poppæa, in the meanwhile, under the terror of impending condemnation, was induced to put an end to her own life. The catastrophe was concealed from Claudius, who invited her husband some days afterwards to his table, and wondered why he had come without his wife. *I have just lost her*, he quietly replied, and sat down to supper.[1]

Egregious flatteries of L. Vitellius.

Among the prosecutors of the unfortunate Asiaticus was L. Vitellius, one of the most notorious of the class of court flatterers, in which he was the more infamous from his high birth and station. Under Tiberius he had governed Syria, and had done good service to the state and its ruler in requiring the king of Parthia to pay homage to the emperor's portrait on the legionary standards.[2] He was the first of the citizens who actually adored Caius as a god. On his return from his province he entered the august presence with his head covered, with measured steps and downcast eyes, as a worshipper, and finally prostrated himself at the feet of the divinity. When Caius, in his maddest mood, asked him if he had never seen him in the embrace of Luna, he adroitly replied that the Gods alone had the privilege of beholding one another.[3] From this time Vitellius reigned at

[1] Tac. l. c.: Ad quod functam fato responderit. The husband of Poppæa was a Scipio.

[2] Suet. *Vitell.* 1, 2.; *Calig.* 14.; Dion, lix. 27.

[3] Dion, l. c.: Βιτέλλιος μὲν οὖν, ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενος, πάντας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἄλλους κολακείᾳ ὑπερεβάλετο. When Claudius was performing the ceremonies of the hundredth year, Vitellius addressed him with the words Sæpe facias, a customary greeting on occasions of ordinary sacrifice, but involving a magnificent hyperbole in the case of a Secular rite.

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Rome as the prince of flatterers. After the death of his first patron he attached himself not less sedulously to Claudius and his favourites. He sought and obtained the honour of taking off Messalina's sandals, one of which he would carry in his bosom and frequently take out and kiss with fervour. He placed golden statues of Narcissus and Pallas among the images of his own family. Envied for his success in this career of ignominy, he became the object of many scandalous imputations, and the high-minded Asiaticus complained that he should owe his ruin to the arts of so shameless a libertine. Vitellius himself pretended to lament the fall of his ancient friend; he enumerated the services of Asiaticus and his family, and when Claudius actually deliberated on acquitting him, made a merit of demanding for him the favour of being allowed to choose his own mode of death. Claudius, ever swayed by the last speaker, graciously consented, and with this proviso the fatal sentence was recorded against him. Asiaticus declined the counsel of his friends to starve himself, a course which might leave an interval for the chance of pardon; and after the lofty fashion of the ancient Romans, bathed, perfumed, and supped magnificently, and then opened his veins and let himself bleed to death. Before dying he inspected the pyre prepared for him in his own gardens, and ordered it to be removed to another spot, that an umbrageous plantation which overhung it might not be injured by the flames.[1]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 3.: Tantum illi securitatis novissimæ fuit. Such is the generous patrician's sense of the glories of his family estate which

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Diligence of Claudius in administering the laws.

The success of this accusation seems to have incited Suilius to further delations, and the success of Suilius stimulated the cupidity of many other delators. The fondness of Claudius himself for judicial procedure, and his own constant habit of presiding at the tribunals, made this in fact a delicate mode of flattery. He was proud to find his own vigilance in maintaining justice responded to by zeal and activity in the accusers, and he plumed himself on not disappointing them in the promptness of his convictions, and the severity of his sentences. However well-meaning Claudius may have been, however much he may have confided in his own conscientiousness, it is but too apparent that, amidst the glitter of false rhetoric, and the noisy display of false sentiment around him, he had not the strength of will or understanding to struggle for the truth, or aim steadily at the right. If the imperial judge was laborious, it may be believed that he was not unfrequently capricious and fitful. The cause which had dragged painfully through a long morning sitting may have been interrupted occasionally by an intemperate carousal, and only resumed with feelings of weariness and disgust. After all the plodding industry he manifested, he was accused, not perhaps without foundation, of giving sentence often with only one

Mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu. The suburban plantations of the Roman nobility might be now of three hundred years' growth. Propertius may describe to us how

Nemus omne satas intendat vertice sylvas,
Urgetur quantis Caucasus arboribus. i. 14. 5.

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side heard, sometimes with neither.[1] With a master so vain and so unstable, surrounded by a crew of greedy parasites all playing upon his weaknesses, the last hope of the class over whom these accusations were always impending was to mitigate, if possible, the zeal of the accusers by diminishing their temptations. An ancient law of the republic had forbidden the noble advocate to accept any fee or reward for the exercise of his eloquence at the bar of justice; yet for many generations this dignified piece of legislation had been treated as a dead letter. Hortensius and Cicero, and many able pleaders, before and since, had erected colossal fortunes on the grateful acknowledgments of their clients; and the penalty which Augustus had sanctioned for a violation of this law had probably been rarely enforced.[2] The assignment by Tiberius to the delators of a share in the spoils of their victims was an infringement of the spirit of this regulation: but the defence of the imperial majesty was supposed to override

[1] Senec. *Apocol.* 11.:

Quo non alius
Potuit citius discere causas;
Una tantum parte audita,
Sæpe et neutra.

The satirist is confirmed, or copied, by Suetonius in saying that Claudius put to death in the course of his reign thirty senators and above three hundred knights. The numbers may readily be suspected. We may remember the three hundred whom, according to one account, Cæsar slew after Thapsus, the three hundred killed by Antonius at Brundisium, the three hundred sacrificed by Octavius at Perusia. The slaughters ascribed to Claudius were not massacres, but judicial executions, and these rarely, perhaps, for crimes against himself. His stolid nature knew no mercy, and he consigned to death without remorse every victim of a sanguinary code and of a harsh and barbarous procedure.

[2] Dion, liv. 18.

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every other consideration. Now at last, after a long interval, the nobles who had failed to overthrow the new tyranny by arms, sought to repress it by an appeal to the law of Cincius, and demanded in fact of Claudius the abolition of what his predecessors had deemed the surest safeguard of their power. Claudius, with that strict submission to the letter of the law which seems to have been more strongly marked in him than the sense of equity or of right reason, allowed the matter to be brought into public discussion. C. Silius, a consul designate, ventured to advocate the return to the ancient principles, while the ordinary practice had an unpopular defender in the delator Suilius. Nevertheless, the senate could not shut its eyes to the injustice and impolicy of forbidding all remuneration to oratorical talent, and contented itself with restricting it to the sum of 10,000 sesterces, about eighty pounds sterling, for the advocacy of any single cause; a limitation which, had it been actually enforced, as we cannot suppose was the case, must have greatly discouraged the profession, the high consideration of which has generally been found the strongest bulwark against the authority of unscrupulous governments. It was not by such methods that the vice of delation was to be checked; nor do we find that this abortive recurrence to the inapplicable principles of a simpler state of society had the slightest effect in controlling it. As far, however, as we can understand the circumstances, the conduct of Claudius in this particular seems to have been highly honourable to him.[1]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 5—7. On the lex Cincia, see Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 71.,

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The completion, as it was imagined to be, of the subjugation of Southern Britain was celebrated in the year 800 by the ovation of Aulus Plautius, the same able and successful officer who had prepared the way for the triumph of the emperor three years before. The honour of the greater triumph could not be conferred on the lieutenant of the imperator; but Claudius showed no unworthy jealousy of his exploits, which were the greatest, perhaps, of any Roman's since the time of Cæsar; and after investing him with the triumphal ornaments, the laurelled crown and robe, he actually walked on his left hand, while Plautius rode himself on horseback through the streets of the city to the Capitol.[1] This was unquestionably the greatest honour imperial Rome ever bestowed on a subject; but the modesty of Plautius was equal to his merit, and he continued to enjoy the favour of his masters by giving their jealousy no umbrage. The occurrence of the eighth centenary of the foundation of the city, according to the common computation, induced Claudius, moreover, to cele-

and Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 42., xv. 20.; Plin. *Ep.* v. 21. The lex Cincia seems to have embraced two particulars: 1. the prohibition of fees for advocacy; and, 2. certain restrictions upon gifts in general. With the second of these we are not here concerned: as regards the first, it is difficult to suppose there was not some distinction made between fees paid by a client for his defence, and rewards assigned by the state for the prosecution of a criminal: the latter may naturally have become a matter of jealousy to the class who found themselves so often placed as criminals at the bar; but to the other no reasonable objection could be advanced. I do not find, however, any such distinction referred to in the few passages which relate to this law.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 24.; Dion, lx. 30.

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brate secular games, though only sixty-three years had elapsed since those of Augustus. Antiquarian though he was, and though in his histories he had complimented his predecessor on the accuracy of his calculation, his vanity could not resist the assurance of his flatterers that the auspicious era was actually reserved for his own principate. Among the festivities of this period was a rehearsal of the Game of Troy by the noblest youths, which gave occasion for introducing the young Britannicus to the people, then in his seventh year only, as a participator in the ceremony, or at least a witness of it. But another child, the son of the emperor's niece Agrippina, by her deceased husband Domitius, made a more conspicuous figure. The age of Lucius Domitius exceeded his cousin's by three years: he was beautiful in person, and he was the grandson of the still-lamented Germanicus, the reputed heir of all that hero's virtues and popular sympathies.[1] The appearance of the two children on that day, and the different reception they respectively encountered, might be taken by an observant and thoughtful spectator as a presage of the fate that was reserved for them, of the premature death of the one, and the guilty glories of the other.

The first deadly

Our history, at least in its earliest stages, has presented a succession of antagonisms between the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11. For the birth of Britannicus, see above, p. 516. note. It seems most probable, amidst the conflicting accounts, that he was born early in 794, and Nero in 790, December 15. Suet. *Ner.* 6. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 25.

lords of human kind, the mortal duels of a Sulla and Marius, a Cæsar and Pompeius, an Octavius and Antonius: but these deadly feuds have been confined to the harder and coarser sex; the rivalry of a Cleopatra and Octavia was a contest of beauty and fascination, and was expressed only by lofty scorn on the one side, and by sly depreciation on the other. But we have now before us a contest of another stamp. The shows of the arena at this period were sometimes disgraced by the bloody combats of armed Amazons; but the court of Claudius was the first to present the hideous spectacle of two women, of the highest birth and rank, and closely connected by ties of blood and marriage, engaged in a desperate encounter of intrigue and perfidy, ending in the violent overthrow of the one and the rise of the other, but equally in the eternal infamy of both. Nothing, perhaps, in the existing state of opinion and the contemptuous treatment of the sex generally at Rome, marks more strongly the feebleness of the reigning emperor, than the licence thus assumed by two rival princesses to convulse the world with a quarrel of the boudoir, and to stamp a character upon the history of their times.

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rivalry of women at Rome.

It was in vain that Messalina had effected the banishment of Julia, while her sister Agrippina, certainly not inferior to her in beauty, in energy, and in unprincipled ambition, was suffered to remain in Rome. Whether the partner of the throne had overlooked the rival from whom she had really the most to apprehend, or whether the address of Agrippina had averted from her own

Mutual hatred of Messalina and Agrippina.

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head a blow prepared for both the sisters together, the emperor's niece continued to occupy the place next to the empress herself in the imperial household, to divide with her the gallant attentions of the courtiers, and even to exert her blandishments, not without effect, upon the unwary goodnature of her uncle. We may imagine the jealousy of the reigning favourite;—the anxiety with which she would watch every movement of an aspirant whom she had injured and menaced, and from whom she had no mercy to expect, of a woman leagued with her enemies and intriguing with her friends;—her fears for the affections of her husband, for the fidelity of his freedmen, for the precarious prospects of her son. Watched in turn by an able and unsparing foe, with full access to the ear of Claudius, and ever ready to abuse his easy attention,—the stay of the wretched she had oppressed, the hope of the ambitious she had repelled,—Messalina must have been indeed the weakest of her sex, if she really indulged in the reckless disregard of all duty and decorum, which has been so generally ascribed to her. It seems incredible that the husband should be suffered to remain in ignorance of infidelities which could so easily be divulged to him, were they really so patent and notorious as after her death they were declared to have long been. While Messalina yet lived and reigned, it might be more difficult to slander her falsely; but we must observe that Agrippina became both the victor and the survivor in the strife between them. Who can doubt that it was then her aim to poison the mind of Claudius against the woman he had

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formerly loved, and to disgust both him and the citizens with the child she pretended to have borne him, preparing the way by unscrupulous detraction for the elevation of her own son above the fortunes of the hated Britannicus? By becoming herself the narrator of the contest she contrived to turn the stream of history into her own channel; she has succeeded in representing Messalina to posterity in the same hideous colours in which she had before represented her to her contemporaries. Historians, wearied with the vain task of seeking for truth in documents of state and imperial manifestos, turned eagerly to revelations of the palace vouchsafed them by an inmate of its recesses, an actress in its private scenes; and the memoirs of Agrippina were no doubt accepted as an authority on transactions which she was most concerned in tricking with the falsest colours. It will easily be credited that an anecdotist such as Suetonius, or a professed satirist like Juvenal, was satisfied to embrace with insolent indifference to truth the piquant calumnies of a triumphant intriguer: if we have any doubts that Tacitus yielded to the same fascinations, his referring to these very memoirs as authentic documents on another nor less delicate subject must suffice to remove them.[1] We have no choice, however, but to read the story in the light in which these

[1] Pliny, whose appetite for information was on most subjects indiscriminate, consulted the memoirs of Agrippina as veritable history. See his preface and *Hist. Nat.* vii. 6. 8.; and comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 54 Nor is there any difficulty in believing that a story once accredited became repeated with even additional colouring by succeeding writers.

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brilliant declaimers have placed it, contenting ourselves with recollecting the foul source from which it has, in all probability, descended to us, and remarking such tokens of its distortion from the truth as an attentive perusal cannot fail to suggest to us.

The freedmen conspire with Agrippina.

Nor must we overlook the circumstance that others besides the sister of Julia were interested in overthrowing the object of their fear no less than of her detestation. The confederacy of murder and rapine which had so long subsisted between the empress and the freedmen was not proof perhaps against the seductive influences of that wily intriguer. Polybius, who had reigned supreme in the imperial household, was, we know, the friend of Seneca, and as such it seems probable that he had become attached to the party of Agrippina. Messalina, we are told, procured at last his disgrace and destruction; and this was doubtless the last triumph she obtained over the rising influence of her rival. But the triumph cost her dear. It alarmed and alienated from her the other ministers of the palace. When they found that the guilty commerce they had so long maintained with her had ceased to secure to them their own lives and fortunes, they might easily be persuaded to transfer their power to the other side. They aided, as we shall see, in the overthrow of Messalina: it may readily be believed that they effected their success by fraud, and defended it by unblushing falsehood.

Amour of Messalina with Silius,

The enmity of Messalina towards Agrippina and Domitius was redoubled, we are told, at

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perceiving the manifest disposition of the citizens in their favour; and she would have sought means of destroying her rival by suborned accusers, had she not been preoccupied at the moment by a new and strange passion, which seemed almost akin to fascination. She had fallen in love with Caius Silius, who has before been mentioned, and who was reputed not only the handsomest, but one of the most virtuous of the nobles.[1] She had insisted already on his divorcing his wife, in order to obtain entire possession of him. Silius was either unconscious at first how deadly her caresses were, or if otherwise, he conceived that to reject her advances would be certain destruction, while in admitting them there might be at least chances of escape. To her caresses she added bribes, and held out the hope of a more magnificent destiny, till he yielded to her demands, and was amazed to find himself courted without disguise or reserve, his house besieged by her repeated visits, all his movements watched and followed: at the same time vast presents were made him, the honours of the state were showered upon him, and finally the slaves, the freedmen, and all the glittering retinue which attended the emperor himself, were

[1] Juvenal, x. 331.:

Optimus hic et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciæ rapitur miser, extinguendus
Messalinæ oculis.

This C. Silius is supposed to have been the son of Silius, the commander of the Roman forces in Gaul under Tiberius, who was consul A. U. 766, and put an end to his own life, being charged with Majestas, in 777: see above.

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found assembled at his door, as if the fortunes of the principate had been actually transferred to his head.[1]

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But Messalina was inconstant; her amour with Silius, however flagrant its guilt, lost somewhat of its charm from its very openness and facility, and the object of her capricious taste perceived that she too often strayed from him to new and unknown rivals. He was mortified and alarmed, and ventured to demand the rejection of all disguise, and the immediate fulfilment of her most glowing promises. Let them wait no longer, he said, upon the slow progress of the old man's decay: the innocent might be content to bide their time, and amuse themselves with the joys of anticipation; but guilty as they were, they must act at once with promptitude and boldness. He urged that he was now single and childless, and prepared to adopt Britannicus: were Claudius once removed, Messalina, he vowed, should retain in his arms all the power and splendour she had enjoyed by the side of the Roman emperor. He contemplated seizing the supreme authority and reigning in the name of the last direct scion of the Cæsarean family. To these instances, however, his paramour was now less eager to listen; not from any lingering regard for her miserable husband, but through fear of raising her lover to a position in which, in his turn, he might prove unfaithful to herself. Nevertheless the prospect of a pretended marriage still inflamed and stimulated her, from the very

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 12.

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Tacitus affirms that Messalina and Silius were regularly married.

grandeur of its infamy, which gives the last flavour to crime in the imagination of the most wanton of criminals.[1] *I am well aware*, says Tacitus, whose steps we have been closely following, *what a fiction and fable it will be deemed, that in a town which knows everything, and keeps no secrets, any human being ever reached such a pitch of audacity, least of all one a consul designate, the other the consort of the sovereign, as to meet on a day appointed, with witnesses to sign and seal, as for a regular and legitimate marriage; that she should listen to the words of the diviners, approach the temples, sacrifice to the Gods, and recline herself at the nuptial board; finally, that she should surrender herself as to the embraces of a husband, and the rites of the nuptial chamber. But far be it from me to invent or to colour for the mavrel's sake: I only relate precisely that which those who have gone before me have themselves heard and committed to writing.*[2]

Incredibility of this account.

The historian requires us to believe, — and his account corresponds with those of every other existing authority, — that Messalina was actually married to Silius, with the most formal ceremonies, during the lifetime of her legitimate husband, and without any act of divorce having past between them; for the deed, though enacted publicly before all the rest of the world, was done without the husband's knowledge, who was the last to learn the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 26.: Nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit, ob magnitudinem infamiæ, cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas est.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 27.: Haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri .... sed nihil compositum miraculi causa, verum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam.

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disgrace which had fallen upon his house.[1] Such an incident has assuredly no parallel in civilized life: to admit it as a fact, we must suppose at least that the most sacred forms and feelings of society were at the time confounded or abjured, that the Romans of the age of Claudius were living alike without laws and national principles. But for such a supposition there is no ground whatever. There was at this period no such relaxation of conventional restrictions; on the contrary, the reign of Claudius, himself a formalist and a purist, was probably marked by a strong reaction of strictness and austerity on the most delicate points of usage. If the law allowed a woman formally to repudiate her husband, yet such an act could only be done by direct communication with him; whereas Tacitus declares that Messalina demanded the rites of marriage with Silius unknown to Claudius, and therefore while still the legal wife of a living husband.[2] Can we suppose that the adulterers, however reckless themselves, would have found creatures so subservient to their wild behests as to rush upon the certain punishment which must have awaited their abetting them? In accepting the common story of this marriage we are driven at least to the notion that Claudius was reputed at the time no better than an idiot, with whom any extravagance might be ventured: yet

[1] Juvenal, l. c.: Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus. This is not a mere phrase of rhetoric, but is fully confirmed by the historians.

[2] For the women's licence of divorcing their husbands under the later republic and the empire, see Cic. *ad div.* viii. 7.; Senec. *de benef.* iii. 16.; Martial, vi. 7.; Juvenal, vi. 224.

we have seen ample grounds to think far more favourably both of his understanding and courage. It happens, however, that a word dropped almost, as it would seem, accidentally by Suetonius supplies a clue to the real character of this extraordinary event, and may remove from the story at least its grossest improbability. It is not clear, indeed, whether the writer himself believes the version of the occurrence at which he hints. This circumstance, however, is of little importance to its correctness; for Suetonius, as we have seen, was too dearly fond of a ribald scandal to brook the overthrow of the popular tale of wonder. Claudius, it is suggested, had been assured by the diviners that evil was about to befall the husband of Messalina. His feeble mind was the victim of the superstitions from which few indeed of his class were wholly exempt. He conceived the idea of evading his impending fate by marrying his wife to another man. It was rumoured, accordingly, that the nuptials of Silius were actually of the emperor's own contrivance; that he in fact not only recommended and urged them, but, fearing lest his crafty scheme should by any means be frustrated, actually assisted at the ceremony, and signed himself the deed as a witness to its legal completion.[1] It is not mentioned, indeed, but of this there can be

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The marriage possibly instigated by Claudius himself.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 29.: Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit, quod nuptiis quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fuerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit; *inductus quasi de industria simularentur*, ad avertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quædam ostenta portenderetur. The construction of the sentence is exceedingly enigmatical, but its meaning can hardly be doubted.

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no reasonable doubt, that he had previously divorced his wife in due form, in order to make her new marriage legitimate. Simple and unceremonious as the act of divorcement might be, it was nevertheless of immense significance. The scandalmongers of the day, the parasites of Claudius, the foes of Messalina, above all, Agrippina herself in her memoirs, may have combined, each for reasons of their own, to heighten the colouring of the story by dropping this essential feature in it; but it seems far more likely that this conspiracy against the truth of history should have succeeded, than that the marriage itself, with its bright array of Auspices and Flamens, of attendants and witnesses, should have been celebrated in defiance of law, religion, and the eternal feelings of mankind, without the sanction, and even without the knowledge of the injured emperor and husband.

Combination of the freedmen against Messalina.

The sequel of the narrative, as told by Tacitus himself, will tend to confirm this view. The household of the Cæsar was struck with consternation, and the freedmen, who wielded the powers of the empire, trembled, we are assured, at a revolution of the palace so strange and ominous. From the passion which Messalina had conceived for Silius, they had already anticipated danger, even before it had reached the height of an audacious defiance. Callistus, Pallas, and Narcissus had all shared in the alarm, and had combined together to deter her from the indulgence of a criminal intrigue, more perilous to herself and to them than any of the licentious loves to which she had before abandoned herself. That she should stray into the

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embraces of a freedman, that an obscure player, such as her favourite Mnester, should *dance himself* into the chamber of the empress, might be a disgrace to the emperor; but the intrusion there of a patrician and a senator, a man of ability as well as consideration, was in fact a defiance to themselves.[1] When, however, it appeared that their opposition would have no other effect than to mark them out for her resentment, they desisted from their futile admonitions, and the two first of the associates seem to have resigned themselves to letting things take their course. Narcissus, however, whether acting on his personal apprehensions, or urged to movement by Agrippina, determined that the empress should fall. The marriage with Silius, once effected — and it mattered little how it had actually been brought about, — might be represented as an insult to the husband, treason against the emperor, an impiety towards the Gods. Nevertheless, though plainly required to defend himself, the state, and the people with a high hand, the firmness of Claudius could not be depended upon; such was the known sluggishness of his feelings, such his devotion to his worthless consort, and so many were the deeds of blood he had already perpetrated at her demand. Caution and artifice were required in dealing with a character so weak, so easily impressible by the first speaker, but not less easily moved by his next successor. As soon as Messalina's daring project was executed, and while, as we

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 28.: Dum histrio cubiculum principis insultaverit, dedecus quidem inlatum; sed discidium procul abfuisse: nunc juvenem nobilem .... majorem ad spem accingi.

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are assured, it was yet unknown to Claudius, who was at the time performing sacrifices at Ostia, Narcissus gained over two women, with whom his master was familiar, to break to him the terrible news. One of these, named Calpurnia, sought an interview with him, and throwing herself at his feet announced with loud lamentations the circumstances of his dishonour. The other, a Greek freedwoman, named Cleopatra, who was standing by, thereupon demanded her authority, and she desired, as had been pre-arranged, that Narcissus should be interrogated.[1] Thus brought upon the scene, the favourite humbly confessed his fault in having too long concealed the crimes of his mistress, and her amours with many a noble citizen, a Titius, a Vettius, and a Plautius; but the present case, he asserted, was more atrocious than any of these, and he could no longer keep silence. *Did Claudius know that he had been divorced by his own wife? that the people, the senate, the soldiers, had all witnessed the marriage of Silius? was he yet unconscious that, unless he acted with vigour, the city was even now in the power of the husband of Messalina?* [2]

Claudius

Claudius, we are assured, was surprised and

[1] Of these women Tacitus says with a circumlocution which is meant for delicacy, Quarum is corporibus maxime insueverat. Yet it is impossible not to suspect that this Calpurnia is the same whom Agrippina afterwards subverted, Quia formam ejus laudaverat princeps, *nulla libidine*, sed fortuito sermone. See *Ann.* xii. 22.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 29, 30.: An discidium tuum nosti? nam matrimonium Silii vidit populus et Senatus et miles; ac ni propere agis, tenet Urbem maritus.

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astounded at this revelation of guilt in one whose fidelity he had never doubted. It was difficult to persuade him of the fact; but it was confirmed again and again by the officers of his household. The plans of Narcissus had been well laid: every one conspired to assure the emperor that he was the victim of an abominable crime; that his honour, and still more his power and safety, were fatally compromised by it. Even on the supposition that he had himself set this marriage on foot with the object which has been suggested, we may still perceive how the representations of interested advisers might persuade him to regard it very differently after its accomplishment, and make him feel that his device for evading a distant danger had actually entangled him in another more immediately imminent. But, however this may be, he readily acceded, we are told, to the instances of those about him, urging him to throw himself at once into the camp of the prætorians, and postpone revenge or justice till he had secured his safety. Their object was to prevent an interview between him and his wife. On his way to Rome he was almost overpowered by his alarms. *Am I yet emperor? . . . Is Silius no longer a subject?* were the questions he was continually asking: and so great was his terror, such the apparent prostration of his powers of will and purpose, that Vitellius and Largus, who accompanied him in his carriage, feared to animate a courage which they apprehended would only fail him at the last moment.[1]

incensed and alarmed.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 31.: An ipse imperii potens? an Silius privatus esset?

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Nuptial orgies of Messalina.

The scene now changes to the suburban palace of the bridegroom, where Messalina was abandoning herself to a frenzy of voluptuous dissipation. The season was mid-autumn, the vintage was in full progress; the wine-press was groaning, the ruddy juice was streaming; women girt with scanty fawn-skins danced as drunken Bacchanals around her: while she herself, with her hair loose and disordered, brandished the thyrsus in the midst, and Silius by her side, buskined and crowned with ivy, tossed his head to the flaunting strains of Silenus and the Satyrs. Vettius, one, it seems, of the wanton's less fortunate paramours, attended the ceremony, and climbed, in a freak of merriment, a lofty tree in the garden. When asked what he saw, he replied, *An awful storm from Ostia;* and whether there was actually such an appearance, or whether the words were spoken at random, they were accepted afterwards as an omen of the catastrophe which quickly followed.[1]

Consternation on the report of the emperor's wrath.

For now in the midst of these wanton orgies the rumour swiftly spread, and swiftly messengers arrived to confirm it, that Claudius *knew it all*, that Claudius was on his way to Rome, and was coming in anger and for vengeance. The lovers part: Silius for the Forum and the tribunals of public business; Messalina for the retirement of her gardens on the Pincian, the price of blood of the murdered Asiaticus. The jovial crew was scattered on every side: but meanwhile armed soldiers had surrounded the spot, and all that could be

[1] Tac. l. c.: Sive ceperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in præsagium vertit.

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seized were thrown suddenly into chains. Messalina, sobered in a moment by the lightning flash which revealed her danger, had not lost her presence of mind. She resolved to confront the emperor. She summoned her son and daughter to accompany her into their father's presence; at the same time she entreated the chief of the Vestals to attend her, and intercede for her with the supreme pontiff. Three only of her women ventured to remain by her side: with these she traversed the length of the city on foot; but her appearance in distress and mourning, on which she had counted for commiseration, attracted no voice or gesture of compassion, and ascending a common cart at the gates she proceeded sadly on the road to Ostia.[1]

Meeting of Claudius and Messalina.

Claudius was at the same time advancing, but slowly and timidly; for, amongst his other causes of alarm, he distrusted the loyalty of Lusius Geta, the prefect of his guards, and knew not whether he was about to enter Rome as an emperor or a captive. Narcissus, however, was at hand, and boldly urged that, at such a crisis, the command of the soldiers should be transferred for a single day to one of his trusty freedmen, at the same time offering himself to take it. Claudius consented; Narcissus assumed the command; and while the train moved slowly along, insisted on taking his seat in the emperor's carriage, lest Vitellius and Largus, less resolute than himself, should allow his courage to evaporate. Even to the last indeed Claudius still vacillated. At one moment

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 32.

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he exclaimed with fitful vehemence against the abominable crimes of his consort, but again he melted into tears at the recollection of her children; while Vitellius, not knowing how the matter might end, discreetly confined himself to such exclamations as, *How shocking!* and, *Is it possible?* Narcissus could prevail neither on him nor on Largus to reason calmly with their master, and confirm him in the apprehension of his intolerable wrong. Such were the circumstances under which Messalina came in sight, and requested leave to present to him Britannicus and Octavia. Narcissus could only whisper in his ear the odious name of Silius, and remind him of the divorce, the marriage, and the treason, while he thrust at the same moment into his hand some letters which contained proof of her numerous infidelities. He contrived indeed to prevent the children being shown to him; but the Vestal Vibidia forced her way into the emperor's presence, and claimed perhaps the privilege of her order to save a passing criminal from death. Narcissus was obliged to assure her that his master would himself hear the culprit, and give her an opportunity of defence.[1]

Execution of Silius, and judgment of his accomplices.

Claudius meanwhile uttered not a word. Vitellius affected ignorance of the circumstances alleged, and shrank from the responsibility of giving any orders. Narcissus took the lead, and every one yielded to him the position he had thus boldly assumed. He required the house of Silius to be thrown open, and caused the emperor to be con-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 33, 34.

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ducted thither. In the hall stood the image of Silius the father, whom Tiberius had disgraced, which the senate had ordered to be overthrown; while the effigies of the Neros and Drusi, the kinsmen of the emperor himself, were placed ignominiously behind it. When his indignation had been sufficiently inflamed by this spectacle, which seemed of itself to announce the criminal projects in which the culprit had indulged, Claudius was hurried to the camp of the prætorians. The soldiers stood to their arms to receive him: he was thrust upon the tribunal, and, prompted by Narcissus, made to utter a few confused words, at which they called aloud for the condign punishment of the guilty. Silius, arrested and brought in fetters to the spot, declined to defend himself; nor would he stoop to any entreaties except only for speedy death. He was executed forthwith, together with Titius, Vettius, and altogether seven knights of distinguished family, accused of abetting him in his crime.[1] Mnester the dancer was added to the number, that, among so many honourable victims, no pity might seem to be extended to a mere ignoble player, though he vehemently protested that no man had so stoutly resisted the seductions of Messalina, and that he was among the first upon

[1] The lex Julia de adulteriis required that there should be seven Roman citizens witnesses to a divorce; and if it be true that Claudius had actually divorced his wife in order to marry her to Silius, it seems not unlikely that these were the parties, whom it was thought advisable to remove. The act of divorce was read by a freedman, and this part may have been enacted by Mnester. Paulus *in Digest.* xxiv. 2. § 9.; see above, ch. xxxiii. (vol. iv. p. 44.). Comp. Juvenal, vi. 46.: Collige sarcinulas, dicet libertus, et exi.

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whom her resentment was destined, had she succeeded, to fall. Another youth of family, named Traulus Montanus, was included in the proscription, for no other crime than that of having for a single day found favour in the eyes of the adulteress.

Vacillation of Claudius, and death of Messalina.

Nevertheless Messalina still hoped. She had withdrawn again to the gardens of Lucullus, and was there engaged in composing addresses of supplication to her husband, in which her pride and long-accustomed insolence still faintly struggled with her fears. Narcissus was not insensible to his danger, and was anxious to strike his last blow without delay. But the emperor still paltered with the treason. He had retired to his palace; he had bathed, anointed, and lain down to supper; and warmed with wine and generous cheer, he had actually despatched a message to the *poor creature*, as he called her, bidding her come the next day and plead her cause before him. Narcissus knew how easy the passage might be from compassion to love; even the solitary night and the vacant couch would kindle, he feared, a sentiment of yearning and compunction in the fond dotard's mind. Swiftly gliding from the chamber, he boldly ordered a tribune and some centurions to go and slay his victim. *Such*, he said, *was the emperor's command;* and his word was obeyed without hesitation. Under the direction of a freedman Euodus, the armed men sought the outcast in her gardens, where she lay prostrate on the ground, by the side of her mother Lepida. While her fortunes flourished there had existed dissensions between them; but now, in her last distress, the mother had

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refused to desert her child, and only strove to nerve her resolution to a voluntary death. *Life*, she urged, *is over; nought remained to look for but a decent exit from it.* But the soul of the reprobate was corrupted by her vices; she retained no sense of honour; she went on weeping and groaning all in vain; when suddenly the doors were burst open, the tribune and his swordsmen appeared sternly before her, and Euodus assailed her, dumb-stricken as she lay, with contumelious and brutal reproaches. Roused at last to a sense of her hopeless condition, she took a weapon from one of the men's hands and pressed it trembling against her throat and bosom. Still she wanted resolution to give the thrust, and it was by a blow of the tribune's falchion that the horrid deed was finally accomplished. The death of Asiaticus was avenged on the very spot; the hot blood of the wanton smoked on the pavement of his gardens, and stained with a deeper hue the variegated marbles of Lucullus. The body was given up to her mother. Claudius had not yet risen from table when it was announced to him that Messalina was no more. Whether she had fallen by her own hand or by another's was not distinctly declared; nor did he inquire. Again he called for wine, pledged his guests, heard songs and music, and exhausted all the formalities of the banquet. Nor on the following day did he allude to the circumstance, or manifest any emotion of joy or hatred, of anger or of sorrow, neither on seeing the triumphant foes of Messalina, nor her sorrowing children. The senate favoured the oblivion he seemed to court for the event, by decreeing

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Intrigues for providing a successor to Messalina.

that her name should be effaced from all public and private monuments. Narcissus was rewarded with the ornaments of the quæstorship.[1]

Such were the circumstances of the fall of Messalina, as they were commonly related and believed in Rome. They have been stamped with the authority of Tacitus and Juvenal, and have since been received and repeated by all historians of the empire. Whatever the crimes of the miserable woman may have been, — and the stain of wantonness, as well as of cruelty which, in her station, was too often allied to it, is indelibly attached to her name, — there seems great reason to surmise that her enormities have been exaggerated by sinister influence, and that the last fatal act, in particular, for which she suffered was misrepresented by a monstrous artifice. It may still remain doubtful whether she was the victim of Agrippina's ambition or of the fears of the freedmen; whether these two powers combined together for her overthrow, or whether they were following each their own objects with mutual jealousy and distrust. The factions which still festered in the bosom of the palace soon made themselves odiously apparent. During the first fever of his apprehensions, and while still, perhaps, under the wing of his faithful prætorians, Claudius, it is said, in the fulness of his heart, had made confidants of his soldiers, and had declared

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 37, 38.; Dion, lx. 31.; Suet. *Claud.* 39. This writer mentions, as an instance of the forgetfulness or absence of mind of Claudius, that after the death of Messalina, he was heard to ask at supper, *Why my lady did not come;* cur domina non veniret. Messalina can hardly have been more than twenty-three or twenty-four at her death.

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to them, that since matrimony had succeeded so ill with him, never again would he subject himself to the caprices of another consort; if he forgot this vow they might hack him in pieces with their swords.[1] But this resolution was of very short duration. His freedmen had determined otherwise; the most powerful among them sought each to secure his own power by raising a client of his own to the first place in his confidence and affections, and he was too easily led by the artifices of those about him to make any resistance to wishes which were seconded by his own amorous temperament. But he was perplexed by the difficulty of choosing between the candidates they offered for his selection, all of whom were equally ready to yield to him. Narcissus intrigued for Ælia Petina, the same whom Claudius had formerly repudiated Callistus for Lollia Paulina, the rejected of the emperor Caius, while Pallas became the champion of Agrippina herself. The first was recommended on the ground of her former intimacy, as well as her connexion with the imperial house through the family of the Antonii; the second had the merit, in addition to her immense riches, of being childless, and therefore the less likely to regard Britannicus and his sister with jealousy; the last, besides her descent from Germanicus, and the popular favour which accompanied her, had the advantage of being able to plead her own cause covertly, by the opportunities consanguinity gave her of hanging fondly

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 26.: Quatenus sibi matrimonia male cederent permansurum se in cælibatu; ac nisi permansisset non recusaturum confodi manibus ipsorum.

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Ambition and artifices of Agrippina.

upon her uncle, and enticing him with her unsuspected caresses.[1] If the charms of Agrippina, then perhaps three and thirty years of age, had already passed their prime; her powers of artifice and intrigue had reached their full maturity; and she soon effected the impression at which she aimed.[2] Ere yet the emperor had avowed his intention of espousing her, she was conscious that the prize was within her reach, and began to exercise over him the influence of a wife. She began already to extend her views to the elevation of her son Domitius by uniting him to the orphan Octavia; and as the girl was affianced to Lucius Silanus, the son of the murdered Appius, she did not hesitate to plan the frustration of that arrangement by aiming a false and scandalous charge against him. She gained the assistance of the supple courtier Vitellius, who pretended, as censor, in which office he had been conjoined with the emperor, to have noted the young man's immorality, and now insinuated a charge of incest against him.[3] Claudius, as

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 26.: Per jus osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem. Of the three rivals Tacitus says, Suam quæque nobilitatem, formam, opes contendere. The first qualification seems to apply especially to Petina, the second to Agrippina, and the last to Lollia; and it seems clear from what follows (*Ann.* xii. 22.) that the divorced wife of Caius had not been deprived of the magnificent dowry she had brought him.

[2] Agrippina seems to have been born in 769. Suetonius tells us (*Calig.* 7.) that the three sisters were born in consecutive years, and the birth of Julia (Livilla in Suetonius) is placed by Tacitus in 771. Agrippina seems to have been the eldest of the three.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 4.: Nomine Censoris serviles fallacias obtegens. This was in the year 802, whereas the censure had been held two years previously. Of Silanus Seneca says (*Apocol.* 8.): Sororem suam festivissimam omnium puellarum, quam omnes Venerem vocarent, maluit Junonem vocare.

guardian of the public virtue, was shocked, as the confederates expected, at this odious imputation, and allowed Vitellius, although the censorship was already passed and the lustrum closed, to promulgate his edict for removing him from the senate.[1] The blow was the more severe inasmuch as Silanus had been advanced that year to the prætorship; and he was now degraded without being heard in his own defence, perhaps even before he was aware of the conspiracy against him. This was the first step towards rescinding the act of betrothal, which speedily followed. The office to which he had been preferred in consideration of his affinity to the imperial house, he was required to resign on the last day of the year; and thus disgraced he was suffered, for a time at least, to hide himself in obscurity, while the way was smoothed for the destined nuptials of Domitius and Octavia.

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Yet an obstacle still intervened between Agrippina and the elevation to which she aspired. Ancient usage and the national sentiment, long engrafted upon it, though with no express legislative declaration, forbade among the Romans the marriage of an uncle and niece. Claudius had just declared his horror at incest, and here was an union proposed to him to which that term in its full force at least popularly applied. It had been rumoured, indeed, whether truly or not, that the first Cæsar was prepared to defy the national sense of delicacy; but Claudius had less courage,

The senate sanctions the union of an uncle with a niece.

[1] Tac. l. c.: Lecto pridem Senatu. The order had been duly revised, and in strictness the removal of the culprit from its ranks should have awaited another lectio.

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and if it was easy to overcome his moral scruples, it was more difficult to confirm his resolution. Again Vitellius came forward to Agrippina's assistance. He took occasion to demand publicly of the emperor whether he would submit to the blind prejudices of the populace, or be swayed by the counsel and authority of the senate? Claudius decorously replied that he was himself only one of the citizens, and could not venture to controvert the judgment of the Fathers of the republic. *Then repair, I conjure you, to the palace, and there await my coming*, said Vitellius earnestly; and then entering the Curia, he besought an immediate hearing on a subject, as he declared, of the last importance to the commonwealth. Having then expatiated with feeling on the splendid solitude of the Cæsar in the recesses of his palace, and his need of a faithful partner to share his pleasures and anxieties, he protested, that if Claudius now yearned for a consort, he had amply proved by his long devotion to the laws that he was yielding to no unworthy impulse. The orator proceeded to enlarge upon the happy fortune of the times, in having a prince who sought only a legal marriage, instead of invading, as others had been known to do, the marriage rights of the citizens; and then recommending the claims and merits of Agrippina, he argued with all the art of a practised rhetorician against the prejudices which seemed to forbid so eligible an union. Other nations, he said, permitted such alliances; nor was it beneath the dignity of Rome to consult the customs even of foreigners. Formerly the marriage of cousins had been pro-

hibited, yet its recent permission had produced no evil.[1] Similar results, he argued, would follow a wise relaxation in the present instance also; and prejudices, after all, were the growth of habit and usage, and would follow the current of legislation. The compliance of a part, at least, of his audience outran even the eloquence of the speaker. His harangue had hardly concluded before a tumult of assentation arose which admitted of no further discussion, but threatened to overbear the scruples of the emperor, if he yet hesitated, by force. A multitude had already collected round the Senate-house, and cried aloud that the Roman people was of one mind with the senators. Vitellius swiftly bore the news to his anxious master, and Claudius, passing rapidly through the crowd of the Forum, amidst a burst of acclamations, entered the Curia and moved for a decree to legalize the marriages in question. Claudius and Agrippina were united in the year 802. It might seem a delicate mode of flattery to contract these preposterous alliances; but T. Alledius Severus, a knight, was the only citizen who could be induced by the hope of the prince's, or even of Agrippina's favour, to do such violence to natural feeling.[2] This, however, was of little importance; the conscience of the feeble Claudius was easily set to sleep, and it became the business of his mistress, now enthroned by his side, to lull it constantly by gentle opiates, through

Marriage of Claudius and Agrippina.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 6.: Sobrinarum diu ignorata. Perhaps this rather means marriage with the daughters of sisters: the present case was that of marriage with the daughter of a brother, which seems to have stood on a different footing.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 7.

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the course of crime and cruelty upon which she was about to enter.[1]

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It is not unimportant to notice these lingering scruples, this solemn discussion, and this sudden downfall of the last barriers of religious principle, at a moment when the whole bent of legislation had been studiously directed to preserve or restore the sanctions of ancient usage. They mark, on the one hand, the general observance thus far of ancient forms; while, on the other, they allow us to perceive how hollow that observance was, and how easily it could be overruled by modern licentiousness. They may lead us indeed to reject as incredible the common story of Messalina's impudent no-marriage; nevertheless, they may prepare us for violations not less audacious, of the laws of nature and of man, which we shall meet with hereafter. The authority of the senate and the licence of the Cæsar to create law and right of their own sovereign will, were thus established with the concurrence of the people, and to their entire satisfaction; yet the authority and licence were shared by these two still co-ordinate powers; it remained yet to be seen whether either could destroy the other, or continue to exist without it.

Suicide of L. Silanus.

A century earlier the wretch who was driven to despair by persecution stalked with gloomy reso-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 4—7. Suetonius tells us that Claudius repealed a provision of the Julian law introduced by Tiberius, which forbade men of sixty years from contracting marriage. It has been supposed that this was done to legalize his own union with Agrippina, as though at this time he was himself almost on the verge of sixty. See *Claud.* 23. and the note of Baumgarten Crusius. But he was actually fifty-eight only.

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lution to the hearthstone of his enemy, and slew himself upon it, to plant for ever in his conscience the sting of an avenging deity.[1] But this superstition had now died away, or the chambers of the Cæsar were no longer accessible, and the suicide could seek his last consolation only in the hope of fixing on the tyrant the indignation of his fellow-countrymen. Silanus chose the moment of Agrippina's triumph to put an end to his own life, assured perhaps that he could not long escape from her enmity, and exulting in the power of casting at least a gloom over the city on the day of her ill-omened nuptials. Nevertheless her cruelty was restrained neither by shame nor fear: his sister Calvina, the presumed partner of his guilt, was sentenced to exile by the voice of the subservient senators; and to the decree by which this punishment was inflicted, Claudius caused a clause to be added enjoining the lustration of the city by solemn sacrifices.[2] The citizens, who had before scowled or murmured, laughed now at the notion that at such a moment, when one illustrious incest was paraded boldly before the world, the secret guilt of another should require a special expiation. It is said, however, that Agrippina was moved, even in the first flush of her success, by the disgust in which her conduct was held, and sought to recover a portion of her popularity by the recall of Seneca from exile, and his promotion to the prætorship. The philosopher was already

Recall of

[1] See the story of Cicero in Plutarch, *Cic.* 47. above, ch. xxvi. vol. iii. p. 182.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 8.

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A. D. 49. A. U. 802. Seneca from exile.

in high repute for his acquirements and character, and his appointment to the care of her child's education was perhaps the best, as well as the most popular, that could be made. It is probable, however, from his sharing the disgrace of her sister Julia, that he was previously connected with Agrippina herself, and held a conspicuous place in the clique or faction which had roused the apprehensions of Messalina.[1]

L. Domitius betrothed to Octavia.

The marriage of the mother was quickly followed by the betrothal of the son, then in his twelfth year, to Octavia, an alliance for which the mind of Claudius had been gradually prepared by the counsels of the friends he most relied on. Domitius took his place at once by the side of Britannicus in every favour and distinction the doting emperor could bestow: nevertheless, the complete ascendency she had acquired over her facile husband failed to allay the jealousies of the new-made empress. Of Ælia Petina indeed, who seems to have been defended by the insignificance of her character, we hear no more; but the rivalry of the rich and noble Lollia was not to be forgiven. Repulsed by one emperor and disappointed of another, she was accused of inquiring of the Chaldeans into the fate of the nuptials by which she felt herself aggrieved.[2] Claudius himself condescended to harangue against her in the senate; but in denouncing her guilt, he wandered, as usual, into historic details on the greatness and antiquity of her family, and commiserating her fall, contented himself with demanding her

[1] Tac. l. c. For the date (A. U. 802.) see Clinton, *Fast Rom.*

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 22.

banishment from Italy, with the loss of her famous fortune, a sum of five million sesterces (or 40,000*l.*) being alone reserved for her entertainment. But Agrippina, it seems, was dissatisfied with the lenity of this judgment, and, according to the common belief of the times, sent a tribune to invite or compel her to put herself to death.[1] About the same time another noble matron named Calpurnia, — whether she was the same who has before been mentioned as a favourite of the emperor does not clearly appear, — was also disgraced by the artifices of the empress, for no other cause than because Claudius had been heard to speak in praise of her beauty: it was admitted, indeed, that the remark had been made in perfect innocence, and the Fury of the palace did not push her anger to extremities.

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Agrippina still marched on triumphantly. Claudius, beset by freedmen, and especially by Pallas, the creature and, as was supposed, the paramour of his consort, yielded to the persuasions which were blandly urged upon him. He was reminded of the example of Augustus, and again of Tiberius, in fortifying the position of their own children by calling older kinsmen to its support. Both precedents were of evil augury. But the imperial pedant was proud to walk in the steps of his renowned predecessors; and in the year 803, the next after his marriage, he consented to adopt

Domitius, adopted by Claudius, assumes the name of Nero.

[1] Dion tells a horrid story, that when the head of Lollia was brought for her inspection, Agrippina forced open the mouth with her own hand, to look for certain marks in the teeth, by which to assure herself of its identity. lx. 32.

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Domitius into the Claudian house, to place him formally on the same line of succession with his own son, and, inasmuch as he was three years the senior, to give him actual precedence in the career of honours. This, it was remarked by the genealogists, was the first instance of the adoption of a son by any Claudius of the patrician branch of that illustrious house, which had maintained its name and honours in direct male descent from the era of Attus Clausus the Sabine, if not of Clausus the ally of Æneas. It proved fatal to the race. L. Domitius thus introduced into the family of his stepfather received the name of Nero, a name long renowned for the obligations it had laid on Rome, but destined from henceforth to become infamous to all time throughout the world.[1] It was of evil omen that the marriage to which he was pledged with his cousin Octavia, now become his sister, was incestuous and abominable in the eyes of his countrymen. But worse than this was the position of jealous rivalry in which he was placed with regard to the injured Britannicus. This poor child had the reputation, even at his tender years, of some quickness of parts, and he did not fail to perceive the guile which lurked beneath the pretended affection of Agrippina. One by one the slaves and attendants of his childhood, between whom and himself there existed a mutual attachment, were removed, as he well knew, by her artifices, and replaced by creatures of her own; and by these he was educated

[1] Hor. *Od.* iv. 4. 37.: Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus, &c.

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as the son of a plebeian client, rather than as a noble born, still less an inheritor of the purple.[1] The elevation, as it may now be called, of this cruel stepmother to the title of Augusta by a decree of the senate seemed to crown her personal ambition.[2] Henceforth she laboured for her son's advancement only. There were few that did not anticipate the transfer of the empire to her child from those of Messalina, and the commiseration of the citizens for the hapless Britannicus was already strongly excited by his unmerited misfortunes.

Agrippina courts the army.

But the contentions of rival princes and the conflicts of civil war were ever flitting before the minds of the occupants of power at Rome. The prætorians had decided the fate of empire at the last vacancy of the throne; the legions might be expected to interfere at the next, and throw their weight into the scale between Nero and Britannicus. It was doubtless with a view to conciliate the soldiers that the masculine spirit of Agrippina aspired to positions which had hitherto been never occupied by women, and displayed herself in the eyes of the citizens and of the army in the character of a leader of the legions. To plant a colony was the proper function of an imperator, of one to whom, among other powers, that of taking the auspices and performing the requisite religious ceremonies, was duly intrusted by the vote of the

Her foundation of the Colonia Agrippinensis, or Cologne.

[1] Dion, lx. 32.: ὡς καὶ τῶν τυχόντων τινὰ τρέφεσθαι ἐπόιει.

[2] Livia was styled Augusta after her husband's decease; Messalina bore the title on her coins, though these perhaps are provincial: but Agrippina was the first wife of a reigning emperor who enjoyed it by a decree of the senate. See Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vi. 252. foll.

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Curies. It was the boast of Agrippina that she was the first, possibly she was the last also, of Roman women who founded, though not in person, a colony of Roman veterans.[1] The illustrious city of Cologne owes its origin to the caprice of this empress, who transformed a native village of the Ubii on the banks of the Rhine into a stronghold of Roman dominion.[2] Here, or in the legionary camp adjacent, Agrippina had herself been born; here had stood the prætorian tribunal of her father Germanicus, and here perhaps her grandsire Agrippa had effected the second passage of the frontier stream. Agrippina was fond also of assuming a conspicuous place in military spectacles. When Caractacus, the conquered British chief, was brought in chains before the emperor's tribunal at Rome, surrounded by his guards and the great officers of the state, she seated herself on another tribunal by his side, and received together with him the homage of the captive and his family.[3] That a woman should thus take her station in front of the Roman standards was considered bold and unfeminine: the veteran Pliny deemed it worthy of grave remark, as a token of the times

[1] The foundation of a city by Dido in the Æneid, and her sitting before the temple *septa armis*, indicated to the Roman reader that she was a queen, not less plainly than the royal title applied in so marked a manner to her.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 27. If originally founded by Agrippa himself, as another passage of Tacitus (*Germ.* 28.) seems to imply, it must have been reconstituted by Agrippina, and received from her the name, which is found in inscriptions, of Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensium. It is curious that this abnormal colony has alone of all its kindred foundations retained to the present day the name of Colonia.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 36, 37.

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in which he had lived, that in his youth he had himself beheld the consort of Claudius witnessing the sea-fight of the Fucine lake, clothed in a soldier's cloak, by the side of the Roman imperator.[1] Nor less surprised perhaps were the envoys of foreign potentates to see her seated together with the emperor when admitted to a solemn audience. But Agrippina, says Tacitus, affected to be a partner in the empire which her sire had defended and her grandsire had won: she boasted herself the daughter of one imperator, the sister of another; the consort of a third; moreover, she expected, and indeed was destined, to become the mother of a fourth; a combination of which there was no previous, and probably no later example.[2] Her face was associated with the emperor's on the coinage.[3] It was remarked also that her ascending the Capitol in the carpentum, or litter reserved generally for the priests and the divine images, was a bold assumption of honours beyond her sex; but this distinction had been conceded, as we have seen by Augustus, to Livia, and by Claudius himself to Messalina. But, in fact, in pride and outward show, no less than in dissoluteness of manners and relentless shedding of blood, Agrippina had now learnt to rival the predecessor she had overthrown.[4]

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 3.: Nos vidimus Agrippinam Claudii principis, edente eo navalis prœlii spectaculum, assidentem ei indutam paludamento.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 42. Germanicus, as the quasi-associate of Tiberius, Claudius, Caius, and Nero.

[3] Eckhel, *Doct. Numm.* vi. 257.: Fuit Agrippina ex Augustorum uxoribus prima, cujus imaginem perinde atque suam in nummis signari indulsit maritus.

[4] Dion, lx. 33.

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A. D. 51. A. U. 804.

Nero is introduced to public distinctions.

The advancement of the youthful Nero to imperial power was progressing step by step even at this early period. In the year 804 he was invested with the gown of manhood, and designated for consul, at the instance of the devoted senate, as soon as he should reach his twentieth year. But in the mean time he was deputed to hold proconsular, or vice-imperial, power beyond the city; which, as he was still retained beneath the roof of the palace, was for the present a mere honorary title, and only a presage of the substance that was to follow. He received, moreover, the flattering style of Prince of the Roman Youth. Agrippina took occasion from these special distinctions, to mark in every way the difference between her son, as a public character, and the still infant Britannicus: the one was to be regarded as a man, the other to be treated always as a child; the one was exhibited to the people in triumphal robes, while the other appeared only, if he appeared at all, in the prætexta of the pupil and the minor. Meanwhile centurions and tribunes, freedmen and tutors, as many who seemed to favour the offspring of Messalina, or even to commiserate his fortune, were removed from about him on various pretences; and his once casually calling his brother by his original name of Domitius was construed into an insult, to which, it was alleged, he must have been instigated by the evil disposed among his friends and attendants.[1]

Increasing

Whatever, indeed, were the crimes and excesses

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 41.

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A. D. 51. A. U. 804.

Influence of Agrippina.

of the wretched Messalina, there can be no doubt that her artifices or, if we may so believe, her genial fascinations had surrounded her with many friends, and that the bold enterprise of Narcissus against her had not been unattended with danger to himself and to the emperor. We have seen that Vitellius and Largus had refrained from stimulating Claudius against her, and that Lusius Geta, the prefect of the prætorians, was deemed so attached to her interests as to be an object of distrust and apprehension to his agonized master.o Another officer of the guard, named Rufius Crispinus, was still regarded as her partisan; and both these men, important from the position they held, were supposed to be still devoted to the interests of her desolate children. Agrippina watched with sleepless vigilance for the moment to supplant them, and at last she prevailed on the emperor to risk a revolution of the palace by dismissing them from their posts, and replacing them with a favourite and staunch adherent of her own. The new prefect, Afranius Burrhus, was a brave and able man, and once armed with the authority of the emperor, made himself master of the camp without a struggle.[1] We shall see hereafter that he was, moreover, independent and honest in character, as far perhaps as the circumstances of his position could allow; but he understood that it was by Agrippina that he had been advanced, and by her that he was liable to be at any time displaced, and he attached himself to her interests and the faction of her son

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 42.

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Nero, as far as it was now opposed to that of the youthful Britannicus. The destruction which fell upon many of the freedmen of the palace may probably be ascribed to their supposed adherence to the party of Messalina; Callistus, the patron of Lollia, seems to have sunk into obscurity; while Narcissus, who had recommended Petina, could with difficulty retain, notwithstanding his signal services, any portion of his former influence. The paramount sway which Agrippina now exercised over her spouse, and over all who sought to secure themselves in his favour, was remarkably manifested in her saving Vitellius from a charge of majesty brought against him by Junius Lupus, a senator; who not only failed in his prosecution, but was himself instead sentenced to banishment, and interdicted fire and water. Nevertheless, though Agrippina triumphed, the people were uneasy at the prospect of war, confusion, or unnatural murder which seemed opening before them. The year 804 was celebrated for the prodigies which attended it: among the most calamitous of these was an earthquake, by which many houses in Rome were overturned, and many people killed in the panic which ensued. The harvest failed generally throughout the provinces, and the supply of corn to the capital became deficient. Only fifteen days' consumption remained in the granaries. The populace rioted for bread, and actually attacked the emperor when transacting business in the Forum. They drove him tumultuously from his tribunal, and would have injured and perhaps torn him in

pieces, but for the prompt succour of a military force.[1]

A.D. 51. A.U. 804. Measures of Claudius for maintaining morality and good order.

Augustus had required that every revelation of the future should be stamped with the license of government, and Tiberius had expelled from Italy the pretenders to astrological science. Claudius, in the spirit of imitation, perhaps, rather than of intelligent policy, sought to enforce this edict, which the citizens had treated with almost contemptuous disregard. The measure indeed, as Tacitus declares, was fruitless; yet it hardly desorves to be called harsh. Perhaps its immediate motive was the reputed crime of a young Scribonianus, the son of the officer who had revolted against the emperor in Dalmatia. He was accused of intriguing against the emperor's life by consulting these dangerous impostors. Claudius was alarmed, but he was also mortified at the ingratitude, as he esteemed it, of a man whose life and dignity he had spared from the wreck of his father's fortunes. Scribonianus was banished; nor did he long survive his condemnation. It was pretended by some that he fell a victim to poison, while others affirmed that his death was merely natural, so impossible was it to arrive at the truth in such matters; so indifferent, it may be added, were the Romans generally to the truth.[2] At the same time the emperor continued to exert

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43. Suetonius (*Claud.* 18.) says that he was pelted with crusts of bread. This licentious conduct of the populace does not imply any special contempt for Claudius. One of the most deeply respected of all the emperors was treated in the same manner at a later period. See Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 30. in *Anton. Pio.*

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52.: Ut quisque credidit vulgavere.

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unremitting vigilance in maintaining the outward dignity of the senatorial order: he took measures for removing from its ranks the members who had descended into poverty, and such as on this account voluntarily resigned their places received his marked approbation. The thunders of the law, conceived in a spirit of ancient fanaticism, were levelled against matrons who degraded their class by forming connexions with slaves; the abandoned wretches were to be reduced to the state of servitude themselves. It had been often remarked that the freedmen were generally the harshest in their treatment of the less fortunate brethren from whose ranks they had themselves recently emerged; and it was Pallas, the pampered paramour of two empresses in succession, who advised this measure, severe against the unfortunate women, but doubtless still more severe against the more miserable partners of their guilt.[1] He received, however, the thanks of his master for the wholesome austerity of his counsel, and was recompensed with the prætorian ornaments, and a colossal grant of public money by the voice of the subservient senators. A Cornelius Scipio went so far in his adulation as to affirm that he was sprung from Pallas, the legendary king of Arcadia, and moved that he should be specially thanked for condescending to assist their deliberations, and take his place among the servants of the emperor. Claudius in the name

[1] Thus the younger Pliny, telling the story of one Largius Macedo, who was attacked by his slaves, says that he was Superbus alioqui dominus et sævus, et qui servisse patrem suum parum, immo nimium, meminisset. *Epist.* iii. 14.

of his freedman declared that he was satisfied with honorary distinctions, and begged respectfully to decline the present, and continue in his state of actual poverty; a poverty, it was remarked, of some three hundred millions of sesterces.[1]

Claudius extends the privileges of the knights.

The favour and authority of this fortunate upstart continued still to increase. He was able to protect his brother Felix, who already through his interest had been advanced to the procuratorship of Judea, where his exactions had driven the people into riot and revolt. It was perhaps at his instance also that Claudius now empowered the knights who conducted his affairs in the imperial provinces, and even those who were similarly employed in the senatorial, and in Rome itself, to deliver the law with the same absolute authority which he claimed for himself, and which was entrusted to the consuls and prætors at home and their deputies abroad. The principle of this arrangement had already been sanctioned by Augustus with respect to the exceptional government of Egypt; it had been extended sometimes to certain other localities; but it was reserved for Claudius to establish it universally and finally as an instrument of monarchical rule, when its original connexion with the ancient claims of the knights and senators to the judicia had long ceased to retain any but an antiquarian interest.[2]

[1] Tac. xii. 53.: Sestertii ter millies: 300 million sesterces equal about 2,400,000*l.*

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 60.: Claudius omne jus tradidit de quo totiens seditione aut armis certatum .... These remarks are curious as showing how nearly in the writer's day the practical significance of the great questions of the republic had been forgotten. Under the

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A.D. 53. A.U. 806. Continued influence of Agrippina.

The influence of Agrippina continued still in the ascendant, nor to the end of her husband's life did it experience any decline; for Claudius was not naturally capricious in temper; he was as patient in suffering as in acting, and never seems to have revolted, even mentally, against the domestic tyranny to which he had now once more subjected himself. Almost the last public act of his principate was the attention with which he listened, at her instigation, to the scandalous charges now brought against Statilius Taurus, a man of wealth and ancestral dignity, who had recently returned to Rome laden, as it was affirmed, with the spoils of the province of Africa. The crime objected to him was not, however, extortion in his government only, but the still more odious practice of magic. Claudius allowed his case to be brought under the cognisance of the senate; but it was generally believed that both charges were equally false, and were prompted solely by the artifices of Agrippina, who was supposed to covet his house and gardens. But neither the sympathy of his peers, nor the common persuasion of his innocence, availed in those dreadful days to save the object of a powerful enmity. The accused, proud and indignant, preferred a voluntary death to the humiliation of replying to his accusers before a tribunal of freedmen and flatterers; and the senators, who were now seldom consulted in proceedings which related to the safety and dignity of the emperor, could only express

actual system of imperial jurisprudence, even in the time of Claudius, the judicia retained a mere shadow of their earlier importance.

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their sentiments by expelling the prosecutor, Tarquitius Priscus, from their assembly, with a burst of petulant disgust which resisted every effort of Agrippina to protect him.[1]

A. D. 53. A. U. 806.

But this covert persecution of one hapless family, and these attacks upon the most eminent of the nobles, were exceptions to the general posture of affairs, which were still for the most part conducted with temper and moderation. It was the policy of Claudius, or his advisers, to maintain the populace in good humour at whatever cost, and this might still be easily effected, at the expense of the tax-payers of the provinces, by multiplied shows and reiterated largesses. While the aged emperor's sun was thus setting with a milder and serener ray than might have been anticipated from the elements of storm and confusion with which he seemed to be surrounded, another light was rising in the opposite quarter, portending, as was fondly anticipated, a season of beneficent rule and widely extended happiness. In the course of 806, while still only in his sixteenth year, Nero was permitted to celebrate his marriage with Octavia. In order to acquire some popularity for an union of so questionable a character, the young prince was instructed to come forward in public, and graciously plead, in speeches made for him by his tutor Seneca, the cause of liberality for more than one distinguished client. He harangued first in behalf of the venerable community of Ilium, the ancestor of Rome, the parent of the Julian race;

Nero comes forward as the advocate of popular measures.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 59. A. U. 806.

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the glories of which, whether real or fabled, he set forth with eloquence and ingenuity, and demanded that it should for their sake be relieved from all public burdens for ever.[1] Again he pleaded for the colony of Bononia, for which, when consumed by a ruinous conflagration, he solicited a grant of money. About the same time the Rhodians were allowed to recover their autonomy, which seems to have been withdrawn from them on account of some domestic sedition; and tribute was remitted to Apamea for five years in consideration of the damage it had sustained from an earthquake.[2] Claudius himself made an harangue, which seems to have been highly characteristic of his pedantic style, in favour of granting the boon of immunity to Cos. He spoke largely on the antiquity of the Coans. The Argives, he said, or rather Cœus, the father of Latona, was the first inhabitant of the island; by and by Æsculapius brought thither the divine art of healing, which was practised there with eminent success by his descendants

[1] It seems not improbable that Lucan makes his apparently purposeless digression to describe the site of Troy (*Phars.* ix. 964. foll.), in compliment to the interest his patron Nero thus showed in the sacred city. The young emperor may have taken to himself the lines applied to Julius:

> Gentis Iuleæ vestris clarissimus aris
> Dat pia thura nepos . . . .
> Restituam populos; grata vice mœnia reddent
> Ausonidæ Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 58.; Suet. *Claud.* 25., *Ner.* 7. The young prince's orations were in Greek. It does not appear clearly, though it may, I think, be inferred from Tacitus, that these last indulgences were obtained by Nero, and I have left the statement equivocal as I found it.

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from generation to generation. Having enumerated many of these skilful practitioners, and distinguished the periods in which they flourished, the emperor came at last to the special praise of his own physician Xenophon, and declared that he yielded to his entreaties in relieving his countrymen from all imperial contributions, and devoting their island from henceforth to the service of the God of healing only.[1]

Further triumphs of Agrippina.

The last year of the emperor's life and reign, the 807th of the city, opened once more with prodigies of evil import, which were supposed to betoken the decay of public principle and deterioration of national sentiment.[2] It was natural, perhaps, to augur that the advent of a young and gallant prince to power would open a new order of things, both in the government and in society; that the pensive retrospect of Augustus and his later imitator would be exchanged for an era of buoyant anticipations, and that Nero would pay his court to the future, as Claudius had venerated the past. Among these portents, that which alone can interest us was the fact that all the chief magistracies lost, in the course of a few months, one of their occupants by death; a quæstor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul.[3] This fatality made a considerable impression upon the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 61. The Byzantians petitioned also for relief, and were exempted from payment for five years.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 64.: Mutationem morum in deterius portendi.

[3] Tac *Ann.* xii. 64.; Dion, lx. 35. According to Suetonius the old man entertained a presentiment of his approaching end, and betrayed it more than once. *Claud.* 46.

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populace; but none of them was so much alarmed at these evil omens as Agrippina herself at the boding words which were heard to fall from Claudius in a moment of inebriation, *that it was his fate to suffer the crimes of all his consorts, but at last to punish them.*[1] The palace, it seems, was still distracted by female jealousies. It is remarkable, after the account we have perused of the unpardonable crime and condign punishment of Messalina, together with her guilty associates, that her mother was suffered still to haunt the precincts of power, and to intrigue against the woman who had succeeded in supplanting her daughter. Domitia Lepida, the sister of Cn. Domitius, and cousin as well as sister-in-law to Agrippina, was not many years her senior, and was still reputed little inferior to her in the autumn of their personal charms.[2] But the contest between them was not now for the heart of a paramour. The arts of Lepida were directed to diverting the childish reverence of Nero from his mother to his aunt, and the caresses she lavished upon him seem to have had considerable effect upon his warm and impressible temper. Agrippina trembled for her influence, not over the actual, but over the future emperor. Both, it is said, were equally dissolute in manners, equally violent in temper; each fought for the possession of the young prince with the desperate determination to use her power with

[1] Tac. l. c.: Fatale sibi ut conjugum flagitia ferret dein puniret. Comp. Dion, lx. 34.; Suet. *Claud.* 43.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 64.: Nec forma ætas opes multum distabant. If Agrippina was now thirty-eight, the mother of Messalina can hardly have been more than forty-five.

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him to destroy the other. But the genius or the fortune of Agrippina prevailed. She suborned delators to charge upon her rival the crime of seeking to marry with Claudius after destroying his actual wife by magical incantations: to this was added the more palpable treason of raising a servile insurrection in Calabria. These charges were considered to be sufficiently proved, and Claudius gave full scope to the vengeful cruelty of the conqueror. Lepida was condemned to death and executed, in spite of the strong remonstrances of Narcissus, rendered desperate himself by the overthrow of the only influence which had hitherto placed any check on the triumphant despotism of Agrippina. Narcissus had received the quæstorial ornaments as the reward of his services; but he had found himself outstripped in the race of favour by Pallas, the confidant of the new empress, and full of discontent and apprehension for himself, he was anxious to save the mother of his own victim, to counterpoise the power which had risen upon her fall.[1] He now muttered moodily to his friends that whether Britannicus or Nero succeeded to the empire, his own destruction was equally assured: nevertheless, his life, he insinuated, was ever at the service of his master; as he had tracked the adultery of Messalina and Silius, he had ample proofs to convict Pallas and Agrippina also; and he threatened to bring up the offspring of the late empress to avenge himself upon the betrayers of his father and the real assassins of his mother.[2]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 38.: Decreta Narcisso quæstoria insignia; levissimum fastidii ejus, cum supra Pallantem et Callistum ageret.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 65.: Matris etiam interfectores ulciscerctur. It

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A. D. 54. A. U. 807. Decline of Claudius.

Such were the conflicting schemes and interests by which, in addition to the ever-recurring cares of empire, the declining years of the most patient of masters were disturbed. But Claudius, now in his sixty-fourth year, and exhausted with affairs at least as much as by the intemperance in which he is said to have indulged, fell sick at Rome, and was induced to quit his constant station in the city, — for he alone of all the emperors seems to have denied himself the customary relaxation of occasional retreat to baths and suburban villas, — for the medicinal air and water of Sinuessa.[1] Agrippina, we are assured, had long determined to hasten his still lingering end, and precipitate by a crime the advent of her son to power. But she continued anxiously to debate with herself what description of poison to employ; fearing lest, if the agent were too active, the secret might betray itself, and again, if it were too slow and gradual, the victim might come to suspect the cause of his sensible decline, and take measures even in his last hours to defeat her aspirations. The crime of poisoning was rife in Rome. Caius had made elaborate experiments in the science, and many must have been his agents and familiars, who lived by pandering to the base and murderous passions of the day. One at least of these horrid professors, the infamous Locusta, has obtained a name in the annals of

Agrippina contrives to poison him.

appears that Narcissus knew that, though himself the most prominent actor in the recent tragedy, there existed actual proof against Agrippina of an important share in the conspiracy.

[1] Strabo, v. p. 351., Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 4., Martial. xi. 8. See Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 3, 330.

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crime, and has been dignified by the grave irony of Tacitus with the title of an instrument of despotism.[1] The men accused her of being the accomplice and helper of many wicked wives who wished to rid themselves of their husbands; possibly she was equally accessible to and equally consulted by either sex; but the only case which history records against her is that of Agrippina and Claudius, in which she was employed to prepare a potion for the unfortunate emperor. The substance which she offered to compound was calculated to unsettle the mind without producing immediate death.[2] Halotus, one of the slaves of the palace, and the taster of the imperial viands, was engaged to administer the fatal dose, which was concealed in a dish of mushrooms, the favourite delicacy of the emperor's supper table.[3] The treacherous morsel was swallowed; but from the quantity of wine, as was supposed, that he had drunk, or from the natural relief of his overloaded stomach, the poison failed to take effect.[4] The

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 66.: Diu inter instrumenta regni habita. Comp. Juvenal, i. 71.:

> Instituitque rudes melior Locusta propinquas
> Per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.

[2] Tac. l. c.: Exquisitum aliquid placebat quod turbaret mentem et mortem differret.

[3] It appears from inscriptions that the office of taster was already known in the court of Augustus. Gruter, p. 602., Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 3. 329.

[4] The words of Tacitus (xii. 67.), Socordiane Claudii an vinolentia, with some varieties of reading, have caused much perplexity. If they are correct, I should imagine *socordia* to mean the languid action of the internal organs, which might be supposed, with what reason I know not, to retard the operation of the poison. Ruperti quotes from

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murderess was alarmed. She feared discovery from the suspicions of Claudius, or from the treachery of her detestable allies. Throwing all further precautions to the winds, she called in the help of the physician Xenophon, which she had already secured in case of need. This man thrust a poisoned feather down the sufferer's throat under pretence of aiding him to vomit, and this time at least the venom was deadly and the effect sufficiently rapid.[1]

Death of Claudius and succession of Nero.

Claudius fell back senseless on his couch, and was removed, as if fainting, to his chamber. Agrippina called for flannels and restoratives, and pretended to apply them to the body, while it lay in the agonies of death, and even after the spirit had departed. The sickness of the emperor was now publicly announced, and the senate summoned to hear the vows of the consuls and priests for his recovery. While these ceremonies were in progress, however, measures were preparing in the palace for the succession of Nero: the doors were kept strictly closed, and placed under guard of the

Livy, xxvi. 14.: Impletæ cibis vinoque venæ minus efficacem in maturanda morte vim veneni faciunt. By the words, nec vim medicaminis statim intellectam, Walther supposes that the *guests* did not at once perceive that poison had been given: but *intelligere* is the proper word for feeling the effect of a medicine or a wound. Comp. Statius, *Theb.* xi. 546.: Mox intellecto magis ac magis æger anhelat Vulnere.

[1] Tac. l. c. There is surely some confusion in the account of Tacitus, whatever may be the corruption of his text. The first poison, as he says himself, was not intended to take speedy effect; the second must have been rapid indeed not to be rejected with the vomiting which immediately ensued. Suetonius gives other versions, all somewhat different, of the circumstances. *Claud.* 44. Comp. Dion, lx. 34.

trustiest officers. Agrippina, affecting an excess of grief, held Britannicus clasped to her bosom, calling him her pet and darling, and the image of his dear father, and keeping him by every artifice from quitting the chamber of death. His sisters, Antonia and Octavia, were in like manner detained also within the palace; while rumours were spread that the sufferer was reviving, and dispatches sent to the guards and legions, declaring that all went well, and that the astrologers predicted his happy recovery. Thus twelve or more hours passed. On the morrow at mid-day, the thirteenth of October, the doors of the palace were suddenly thrown open, and Nero, with Burrhus at his side, walked straight to the guardhouse, at the outer gate.[1] At the prefect's word of command, he was received with acclamations, and lifted in a litter on the men's shoulders. Some indeed still hung back and murmured, *Where is Britannicus?* but there was none to bid them act for him, and they speedily followed the first impulse which had been given them. Nero was carried to the camp; he made a suitable

[1] We may conclude from Tacitus that Claudius died soon after being carried from the supper table, about midnight of the 12th—13th; but his demise was announced as taking place some hours later, and the 13th was the day stated in the Fasti. Comp. Dion, lx. 34.; Suet. *Claud.* 45. Seneca (*Apocol.* 2.) pretends that he did not expire till after mid-day: Inter sextam et septimam erat:

Jam medium curru Phœbus diviserat orbem,
Et propior nocti fessas quatiebat habenas.

Born Aug. 1. A. U. 744, Claudius died Oct. 13. A. U. 807, aged sixty-three years, two months, and twelve days. See Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* i. 36.

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address, promised the expected donative, after his father's example, and was saluted imperator.[1] The senate accepted without hesitation the declared will of the prætorians; nor was there afterwards any dissent on the part of the legions in the provinces. The first act of the Fathers was to decree the deification of Claudius, who was thus honourably dismissed, with the least possible delay, from the remembrance of the citizens to the pious services of his appointed Flamens. His funeral was ordered with great splendour, according to the precedent of his noble prototype Augustus, and the magnificence of Agrippina on the occasion was not inferior to that displayed formerly by Livia. But his will was never publicly recited; it was feared that the preference it gave to the adopted son over the actual would cause remark and dissatisfaction.[2]

Estimate of the character of Claudius.

We meet with more than one instance in the imperial history of the parents suffering for the sins of their children. We have already seen how much reason there is to believe that the hatred of the Romans to Tiberius disposed them readily to accept any calumny against Livia. Tiberius himself was hated the more for the crimes of his successor Caius; and there is ground to surmise that much of the odium which has attached to Claudius is reflected from the horror with which Nero came afterwards to be regarded. Thus did the Romans avenge themselves on the authors of the principle of hereditary succession so long un-

[1] Suet. *Ner.* 8.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69.; Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xx. 8.: Dion (Xiphilin), lxi. 3.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 45.; Tac. l. c.; Dion, lx. 35.

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known to their polity, and known at last so disadvantageously. Of Claudius, at least, a feeling of compassion, if not of justice, may incline us to pronounce with more indulgence than has usually been accorded to him. He was an imitator, as we have seen, of Augustus, but only as the silver age might parody the golden; for the manners he sought to revive, and the sentiments he pretended to regenerate, had not been blighted by the passing tempest of civil war, but were naturally decaying from the over-ripeness of age. Nevertheless, it was honourable to admire a noble model; there was some generosity even in the attempt to rival the third founder of the state. Nor, in fact, does any period of Roman history exhibit more outward signs of vigorous and successful administration: none was more fertile in victories or produced more gallant commanders or excellent soldiers; domestic affairs were prosperously conducted; the laborious industry of the emperor himself tired out all his ministers and assistants. The senate recovered some portion of its authority, and, with authority, of courage and energy. Claudius secured respect for letters, in an age of show and sensuality, by his personal devotion to them. From some of the worst vices of his age and class he was remarkably exempt. His gluttony, if we must believe the stories told of it, was countenanced at least by many high examples; his cruelty, or rather his callous insensibility, was the result of the perverted training which made human suffering a sport to the master of a single slave, as well as to the emperor on the throne; and it was

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never aggravated at least by wanton caprice or ungovernable passion. The contempt which has been thrown upon his character and understanding has been generated, in a great degree, by the systematic fabrications of which he has been made the victim. Though flattered with a lip-worship which seems to our notions incredible, Claudius appears to have risen personally above its intoxicating vapours; we know that, in one instance at least, the fulsome adulation of a man, the most remarkable of his age for eloquence and reputed wisdom, failed to turn the course whether of his justice or his anger.

Claudius honoured as a deity by Seneca during his lifetime.

The circumstances of this adulation, and of its disappointment, it is due to the memory of Claudius to detail. We have no distinct account of the cause of Seneca's banishment, which is ascribed, by little better than a guess, to the machinations of Messalina against the friends and adherents of Julia. However this may be, we have seen with what impatience the philosopher bore it. On the occasion of the death of a brother of Polybius, he addressed a treatise from his place of exile to the still powerful freedman, such as was styled a Consolation, in which he set forth all the arguments which wit and friendship could suggest to alleviate his affliction and fortify his wisdom. After assuring him of the solemn truth that all men are mortal, and reminding him that this world itself, and all that it contains, is subject to the common law of dissolution; that man is born to sorrow; that the dead can have no pleasure in his grief; that his grief at the best is futile and unprofitable;

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he diverts him with another topic which is meant to be still more effectual. The emperor, he says, is divine, and those who are blessed by employment in his service, and have him ever before their eyes, can retain no idle interest in human things; their happy souls neither fear nor sorrow can enter; the divinity is with them and around them.[1] *Me*, he declares, *this God has not overthrown; rather he has supported when others supplanted me; he still suffers me to remain for a monument of his providence and compassion. Whether my cause be really good or bad, his justice will at last pronounce it good, or his clemency will so regard it. Meanwhile, it is my comfort to behold his pardons travelling through the world: even from the corner where I am cast away his mercy has called forth many an exile before me. One day the eyes of his compassion will alight on me also. . . . . Truly those thunderbolts are just which the thunderstricken have themselves learnt to adore. May the immortals long indulge him to the world! may he rival the deeds of Augustus and exceed his years! While still resident among us, may death never cross his threshold! Distant be the day, and reserved for the tears of our grand-children, when his divine progenitors demand him for the heavens which are his own!*[2]

His adora-

Such were the phrases, sonorous and unctuously

[1] Senec. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 31.: Non desinam toties tibi offerre Cæsarem . . . . illo rebus humanis præside non est periculum ne quid perdidisse te sentias: in hoc uno tibi satis præsidii, satis solatii est. Attolle te, et quoties lachrymæ suboriuntur oculis tuis, toties illos in Cæsarem dirige; siccabuntur maximi et clarissimi conspectu Numinis . . . .

[2] Senec. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 26, 31, 32.

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tion of Claudius proves unavailing.

polished, which Polybius was doubtless expected to recite in the ears of the imperial pedant: standing high as he still did in the favour of Claudius and Messalina, he had the means, and was perhaps not without the will, to recommend them with all his interest, and intercede in the flatterer's behalf. Yet Claudius, it would seem, remained wholly unmoved by a worship more vehement than Ovid's, and enhanced still more by the unquestioned reputation of its author. Whatever had been the motives of his sentence against Seneca, it was not by flattery that he could be swayed to reverse it. Surely, as far as we are competent to judge, we must think the better both of his firmness and his sense.[1] Shortly afterwards Polybius was himself subverted by the caprice of Messalina; Messalina in her turn was overthrown by Agrippina; and it was not till the sister of Julia had gained the ascendant, that Seneca obtained at her instance the grace he had vainly solicited through the good offices of the freedman.

Seneca's satire on the deification of Claudius.

But however little Claudius may have relied on the sincerity of this brilliant phrasemonger, he could scarce have anticipated the revulsion of sentiment to which so ardent a worshipper would not blush to give utterance on his demise. It was natural of course that the returned exile should attach himself to his benefactress: from

[1] It should be remarked that we cannot speak with certainty of this presumed intercession of Polybius. It is possible that the Consolation did not reach him till he was no longer in a position to serve its author; but, on the other hand, there is no reason to suppose this to have been the case.

her hands he had received his honours; by her he was treated with a confidence which flattered him. No doubt he was among the foremost of the courtiers who deserted the setting to adore the rising luminary. Yet few, perhaps, could believe that no sooner should Claudius be dead, ere yet the accents of official flattery had died away which proclaimed him entered upon the divine career of his ancestors, than the worshipper of the living emperor should turn his deification into ridicule, and blast his name with a slander of unparalleled ferocity. There is no more curious fragment of antiquity than the Vision of Judgment which Seneca has left us on the death and deification of Claudius. The traveller who has visited modern Rome in the autumn season has remarked the numbers of unwieldy and bloated gourds which sun their speckled bellies before the doors, to form a favourite condiment to the food of the poorer classes. When Claudius expired in the month of October, his soul, according to the satirist, long lodged in the inflated emptiness of his own swollen carcass, migrated by an easy transition into a kindred pumpkin. The senate declared that he had become a god; but Seneca knew that he was only transformed into a gourd. The senate decreed his divinity, Seneca translated it into pumpkinity; and proceeded to give a burlesque account of what may be supposed to have happened in heaven on the appearance of the new aspirant to celestial honours.[1] A tall gray-

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[1] The piece here alluded to is entitled in the MSS. and editions *Ludus de morte Claudii Cæsaris.* Its style is very similar to that of

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haired figure has arrived halting at the gates of Olympus: he mops and mows, and shakes his palsied head, and when asked whence he comes and what is his business, mutters an uncouth jargon in reply which none can understand. Jupiter sends Hercules to interrogate the creature, for Hercules is a travelled god, and knows many languages; but Hercules himself, bold and valiant as he is, shudders at the sight of a strange unearthly monster, with the hoarse inarticulate moanings of a seal or sea-calf. He fancied that he saw his thirteenth labour before him. Presently, on a nearer view, he discovers that it is *a sort of man*. Accordingly he takes courage to address him with a verse from Homer, the common interpreter of gods and men; and Claudius, rejoicing at the sound of Greek, and auguring that his own histories will be understood in heaven, replies with an apt quotation.[1] To pass over various incidents which are next related, and the gibes of the satirist on the Gaulish origin of Claudius, and his zeal in lavishing the franchise on Gauls and other barbarians, we find the gods assembled in conclave to deliberate on the pretensions of their unexpected visitor. Cer-

Seneca, with whose works it has been found, and in brilliancy and point it is by no means unworthy of the great master of rhetoric. It contains, in deed, no allusion to the gourd or pumpkin; but Dion tells us (lx. 35.) that Seneca wrote a satire on the deification of Claudius to which he gave the name of *Apocolocyntosis* (or pumpkinification), and there seems no ground to doubt the identity of the two pieces. It is not uncommon in ancient literature for the same work to be cited under two names. Thus the poem of Lucan is sometimes called *Pharsalia*, sometimes *de bello civili*.

[1] Senec. *Apocol.* 5.: τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν, πόθι τοι πτόλις; . . . .
Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν.

tain of the deities rise in their places, and express themselves with divers exquisite reasons in his favour; and his admission is about to be carried with acclamation, when Augustus starts to his feet (for the first time, as he calls them all to witness, since he became a god himself — for Augustus in heaven is reserved and silent, and keeps strictly to his own affairs), and recounts the crimes and horrors of his grandchild's career. He mentions the murder of his father-in-law Silanus, and his two sons-in-law Silanus and Pompeius, and the father-in-law of his daughter, and the mother-in-law of the same, of his wife Messalina, and of others more than can be named. The gods are struck with amazement and indignation. Claudius is repelled from the threshold of Olympus, and led by Mercury to the shades below. As he passes along the Via Sacra he witnesses the pageant of his own obsequies, and then first apprehends the fact of his decease. He hears the funeral dirge in which his actions are celebrated in most grandiloquent singsong, descending at last to the abruptest bathos.[1] But the satirist can strike a higher note: the advent of the ghost to the infernal regions is described with a sublime irony. *Claudius is come*, shout the spirits of the dead, and at once a vast multitude assemble around him, exclaiming, with the chant of the priests of Apis, *We have found him, we have found him; rejoice and be glad!*[2] Among them was

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[1] Senec. *Apocol.* 12.: Ingenti μεγαληγορίᾳ nænia cantabatur anapœstis: fundite fletus, edite planctus, fingite luctus, &c.

[2] Senec. *Apocol.* 13.: Claudius Cæsar venit . . . . εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν. Great has been the success of this remarkable passage, which

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Silius the consul and Junius the prætor, and Trallus and Trogus, and Cotta, Vettius, and Fabius, Roman knights, whom Narcissus had done to death. Then came the freedmen Polybius and Myron, Harpocras, Amphæus, and Pheronactes, whom Claudius had despatched to hell before him, that he might have his ministers below. Next advanced Catonius and Rufus, the prefects, and his friends Lusius and Pedo, and Lupus and Celer, consulars, and finally a number of his own kindred, his wife and cousins, and son-in-law. *Friends everywhere!* simpered the fool; *pray how came you all here? How came we here?* thundered Pompeius Pedo: *who sent us here but thou, O murderer of all thy friends?*[1] And thereupon the new comer is hurried

may possibly have suggested the noble lines of Shakspeare, *Rich. III.* Act i. sc. 4.:

> Clarence is come, false, fleeting, perjured Clarence,
> That stabbed me in the field by Tewksbury.

It is more probable that Voltaire had it in his mind when he pronounced on the fate of Constantine and Clovis; and more than one stanza of Byron's Vision of Judgment is evidently suggested by it. Lucan also, in almost every page of whose poem I trace the study of his uncle Seneca, seems to have had it before him in those inspired lines, *Phars.* vi. in fin.:

> Tristis felicibus umbris
> Vultus erat: vidi Decios, natumque patremque,
> Lustrales bellis animas, flentemque Camillum
> Et Curios; Syllam de te, Fortuna, querentem ....
> Abruptis Catilina minax fractisque catenis
> Exsultant Mariique truces nudique Cethegi ....

Comp. also Juvenal, ii. 153.:

> Curius quid sentit et ambo
> Scipiadæ .... quoties hinc talis ad illos Umbra venit.

[1] For Catonius, see Dion, lx. 18.; for Junius, Rufus, and Vettius, Tac. *Ann.* xi. 35. Pompeius Pedo seems to be the same who is there called Urbicus.

away before the judgment seat of Æacus. An old boon companion offers to plead for him; Æacus, most just of men, forbids, and condemns the criminal, one side only heard. *As he hath done*, he exclaims, *so shall he be done by*.[1] The shades are astounded at the novelty of the judgment: to Claudius it seems rather unjust than novel. Then the nature of his punishment is considered. Some would relieve Tantalus or Ixion from their torments and make the imperial culprit take their place; but no, that would still leave him the hope of being himself in the course of ages relieved. His pains must be never ending, still beginning: eternal trifler and bungler that he was, he shall play for ever and ever with a bottomless dicebox.[2]

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Such was the scorn which might be flung upon the head of a national divinity, even though he were the adoptive father of the ruler of the state; nor perhaps was the new and upstart deity much more cavalierly treated than might sometimes be the lot of the established denizens of Olympus. It is true that Nero at a later period thought fit to degrade his parent from these excessive honours, and even demolished the unfinished works of his temple on the Cælian hill[3]: but there is no reason to suppose that Seneca reserved his spite until this

Seneca's extravagant flattery of Nero.

[1] Senec. l. c.:

Εἴ κε πάθοι τά τ' ἔρεξε δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο . . . .
Claudio iniquum magis videbatur quam novum.

[2] Senec. l. c. in fin.:

Refugit digitosque per ipsos
Fallax assiduo dilabitur alea furto.

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 45.; Vespas. 9.

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catastrophe, or that the prince evinced any marks of displeasure at the unrestrained laughter with which doubtless his satire was greeted.[1] While the memory of the deceased emperor was thus ruthlessly torn in pieces, the writer had been careful to exalt in terms the most extravagant the anticipated glories of his successor; and the vain thoughtless heir perceived not that the mockery of his sire was the deepest of insults to himself. Of the figure, accomplishments, and character of Nero I shall speak more particularly hereafter: enough that he was young, that he was not ungraceful in appearance, that he had some talents, and, above all, the talent of exhibiting them. With such qualifications the new occupant of a throne could never want for flatterers. To sing them, the sage of the rugged countenance mounts gaily on the wings of poetry, and sports in lines of mellifluous mellowness, such as might grace the erotic lyre of the most callow votary of the Muses. At last, he says, in mercy to his wretchedness, the life-thread of the stolid Claudius had been severed by the fatal shears. But Lachesis, at that moment, had taken in her hands another skein of dazzling whiteness, and as it glided nimbly through her fingers, the common wool of life was changed into a precious tissue[2]:— a golden age untwined from

[1] Nero is said to have called mushrooms *the food of Gods*, θεῶν βρῶμα. Suet. *Ner.* 3. The jest of Gallio, Seneca's brother, that Claudius was dragged to heaven by a hangman's hook, is conceived in a similar spirit of inhuman banter. Dion, lx. 35. Juvenal's phrase, Tremulumque caput descendere jussit In cœlum (vi. 623.), is equally happy, and for once less coarse than either.

[2] Senec. *Apocol.* 4.: Mutatur vilis pretioso lana metallo.

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the spindle. The Sisters ply their work in gladness, and glory in their blessed task; and far, far away stretches the glittering thread, beyond the years of Nestor and Tithonus. Phœbus stands by their side, and sings to them as they spin,— Phœbus the God of song and the God of prophecy. *Stay not, O stay not, gentle sisters; he shall transcend the limits of human life; he shall be like me in face, like me in beauty; neither in song nor in eloquence behind me. He shall restore a blissful age to wearied men, and break again the long silence of the Laws. Yes,— as when Lucifer drives the stars before him, and morning dissipates the clouds, the bright sun gazes on the world, and starts his chariot on its daily race, — so Cæsar breaks upon the earth; such is the Nero whom Rome now beholds: — beams his bright countenance with tempered rays, and glistens his fair neck beneath its floating curls.*[1]

[1] Senec. l. c.:

Ille mihi similis vultu, similisque decore,
Nec cantu nec voce minor; felicia lassis
Sæcula præstabit, legumque silentia rumpet . . . .
Talis Cæsar adest; talem jam Roma Neronem
Aspiciat: flagrat nitidus fulgore remisso
Vultus, et effuso cervix formosa capillo.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER L.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

TABLE I.

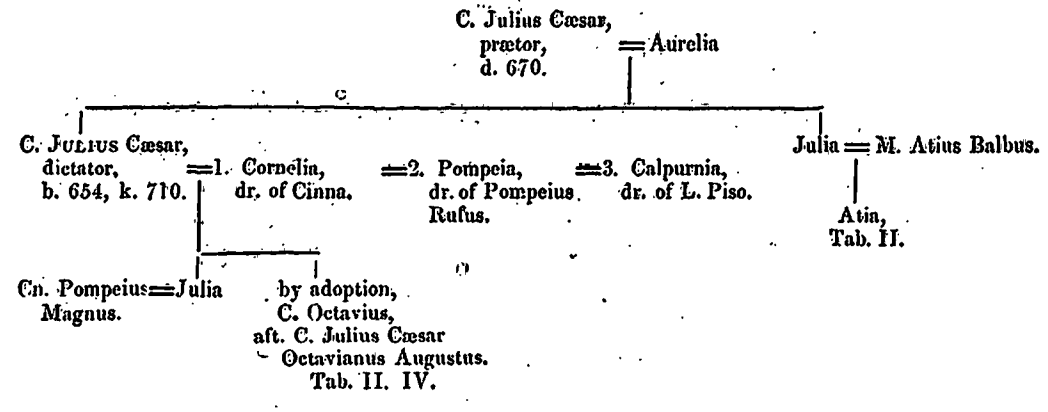

C. Julius Cæsar, prætor, d. 670.
Aurelia
C. Julius Cæsar, dictator, b. 654, k. 710.
1. Cornelia, dr. of Cinna.
2. Pompeia, dr. of Pompeius Rufus.
3. Calpurnia, dr. of L. Piso.
Julia
M. Atius Balbus.
Atia, Tab. II.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Julia
by adoption, C. Octavius, aft. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus. Tab. II. IV.

TABLE II.

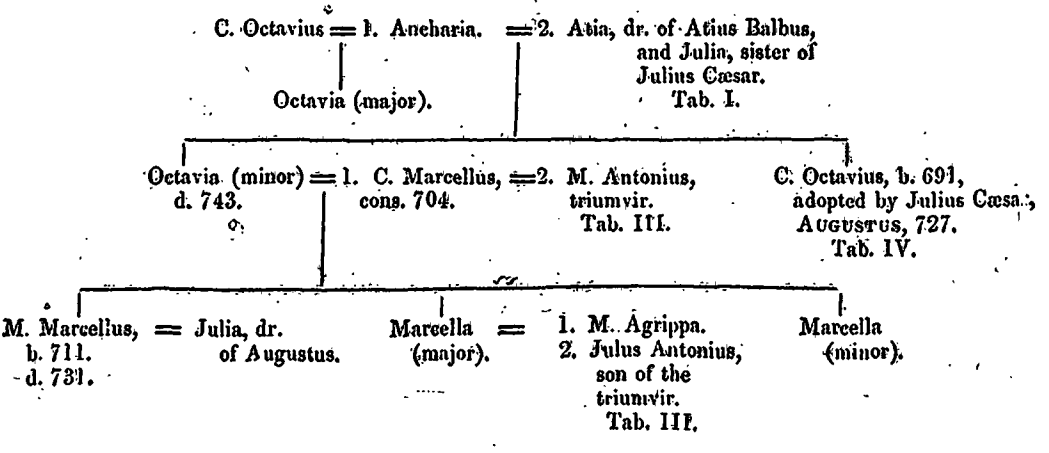

C. Octavius
1. Ancharia.
2. Atia, dr. of Atius Balbus, and Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar. Tab. I.
Octavia (major).
Octavia (minor) d. 743.
1. C. Marcellus, cons. 704.
2. M. Antonius, triumvir. Tab. III.
C. Octavius, b. 691, adopted by Julius Cæsar, Augustus, 727. Tab. IV.
M. Marcellus, b. 711. d. 731.
Julia, dr. of Augustus.
Marcella (major).
1. M. Agrippa.
2. Julus Antonius, son of the triumvir. Tab. III.
Marcella (minor).

TABLE III.

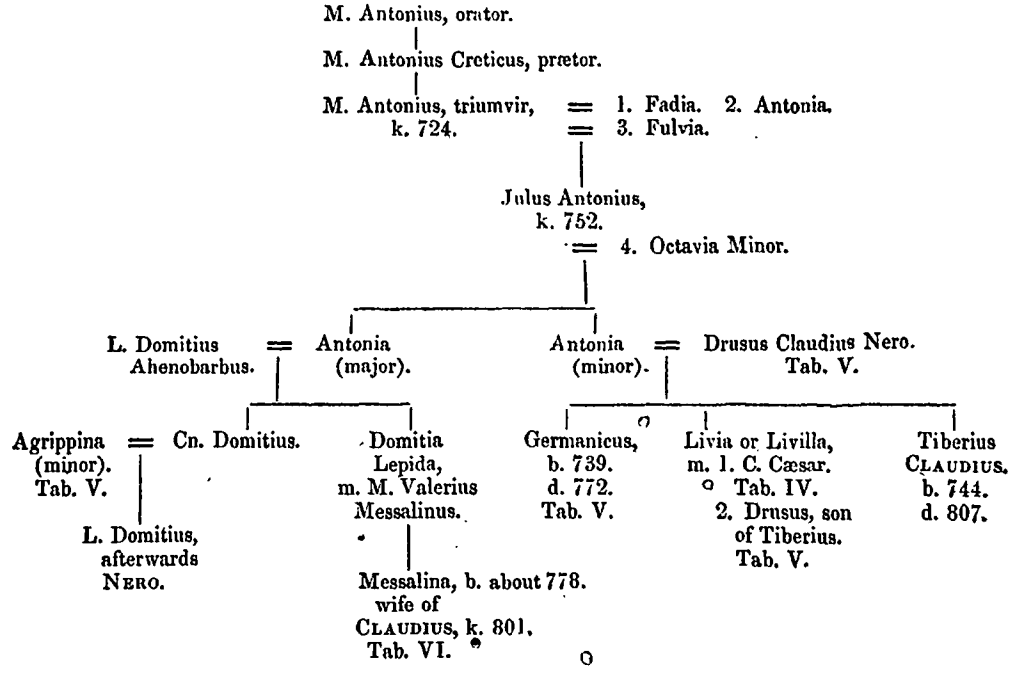

M. Antonius, orator.
M. Antonius Creticus, prætor.
M. Antonius, triumvir, k. 724.
= 1. Fadia. 2. Antonia.
= 3. Fulvia.
Julus Antonius, k. 752.
= 4. Octavia Minor.
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
= Antonia (major).
Antonia (minor).
= Drusus Claudius Nero. Tab. V.
Agrippina (minor). Tab. V.
= Cn. Domitius.
L. Domitius, afterwards Nero.
Domitia Lepida, m. M. Valerius Messalinus.
Messalina, b. about 778. wife of Claudius, k. 801. Tab. VI.
Germanicus, b. 739. d. 772. Tab. V.
Livia or Livilla, m. 1. C. Cæsar. Tab. IV. 2. Drusus, son of Tiberius. Tab. V.
Tiberius Claudius. b. 744. d. 807.

TABLE IV.

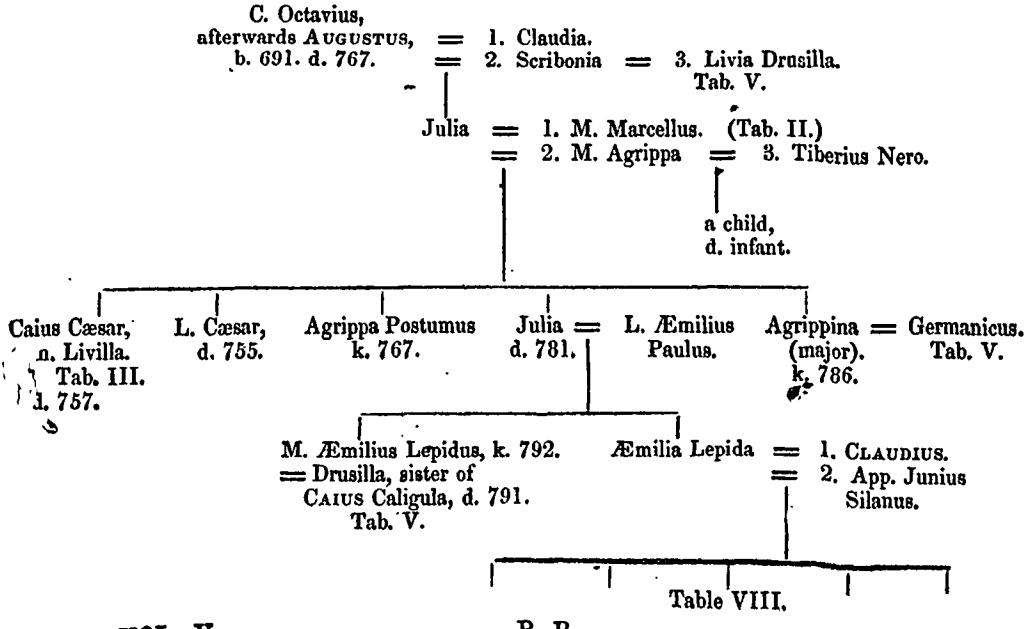

C. Octavius, afterwards Augustus, b. 691. d. 767.
= 1. Claudia.
= 2. Scribonia
= 3. Livia Drusilla. Tab. V.
Julia
= 1. M. Marcellus. (Tab. II.)
= 2. M. Agrippa
= 3. Tiberius Nero.
a child, d. infant.
Caius Cæsar, n. Livilla. Tab. III. d. 757.
L. Cæsar, d. 755.
Agrippa Postumus k. 767.
Julia d. 781.
= L. Æmilius Paulus.
Agrippina (major). k. 786.
= Germanicus. Tab. V.
M. Æmilius Lepidus, k. 792.
= Drusilla, sister of Caius Caligula, d. 791. Tab. V.
Æmilia Lepida
= 1. Claudius.
= 2. App. Junius Silanus.
Table VIII.

TABLE V.

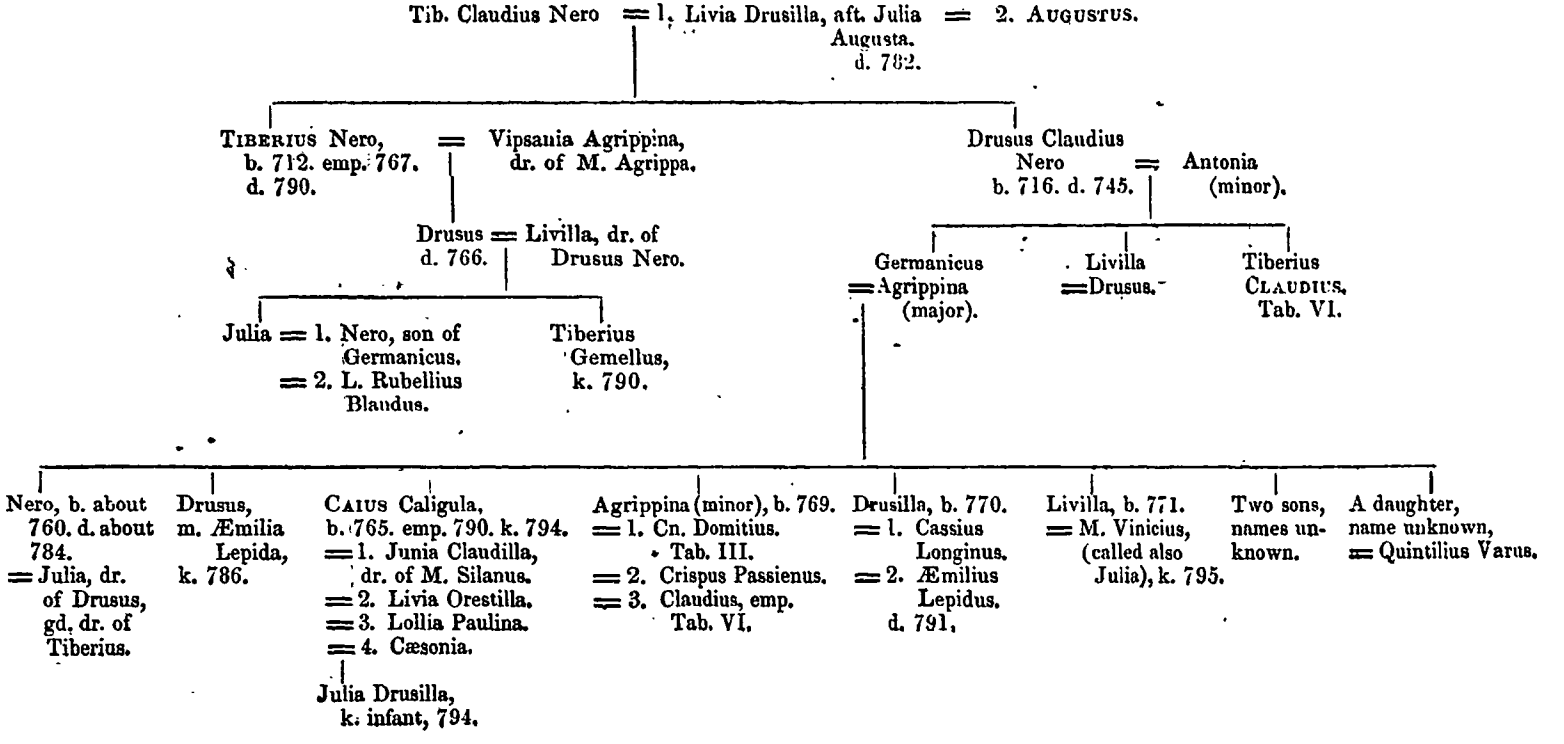

Tib. Claudius Nero = 1. Livia Drusilla, aft. Julia Augusta. d. 782. = 2. Augustus.
Tiberius Nero, b. 712. emp. 767. d. 790. = Vipsania Agrippina, dr. of M. Agrippa.
Drusus Claudius Nero b. 716. d. 745. = Antonia (minor).
Drusus d. 766. = Livilla, dr. of Drusus Nero.
Germanicus = Agrippina (major).
Livilla = Drusus.
Tiberius Claudius, Tab. VI.
Julia = 1. Nero, son of Germanicus. = 2. L. Rubellius Blandus.
Tiberius Gemellus, k. 790.
Nero, b. about 760. d. about 784. = Julia, dr. of Drusus, gd. dr. of Tiberius.
Drusus, m. Æmilia Lepida, k. 786.
Caius Caligula, b. 765. emp. 790. k. 794. = 1. Junia Claudilla, dr. of M. Silanus. = 2. Livia Orestilla. = 3. Lollia Paulina. = 4. Cæsonia.
Julia Drusilla, k. infant, 794.
Agrippina (minor), b. 769. = 1. Cn. Domitius. Tab. III. = 2. Crispus Passienus. = 3. Claudius, emp. Tab. VI.
Drusilla, b. 770. = 1. Cassius Longinus. = 2. Æmilius Lepidus. d. 791.
Livilla, b. 771. = M. Vinicius, (called also Julia), k. 795.
Two sons, names unknown.
A daughter, name unknown, = Quintilius Varus.

TABLE VI.

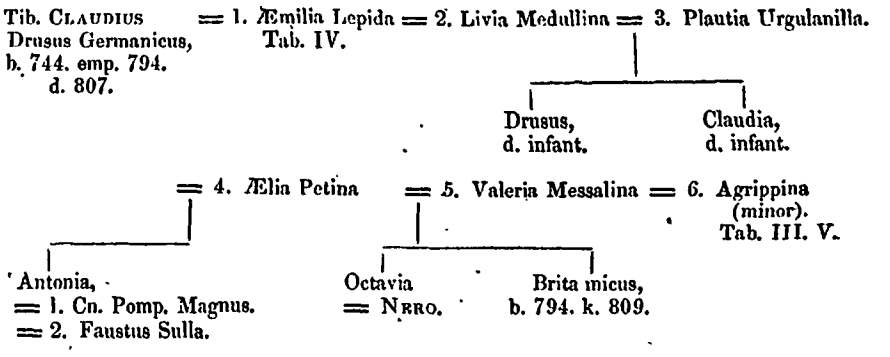

Tib. Claudius Drusus Germanicus, b. 744. emp. 794. d. 807.
= 1. Æmilia Lepida Tab. IV.
= 2. Livia Medullina
= 3. Plautia Urgulanilla.
Drusus, d. infant.
Claudia, d. infant.
= 4. Ælia Petina
= 5. Valeria Messalina
= 6. Agrippina (minor). Tab. III. V.
Antonia, = 1. Cn. Pomp. Magnus. = 2. Faustus Sulla.
Octavia = Nero.
Britannicus, b. 794. k. 809.

TABLE VII.

(From Smith's Classical Biography.)

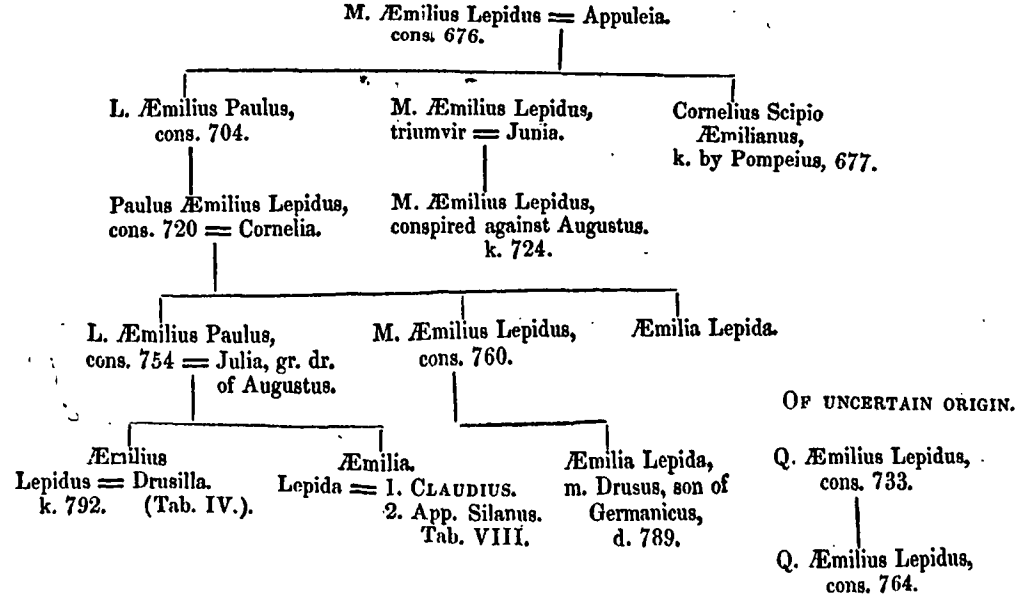
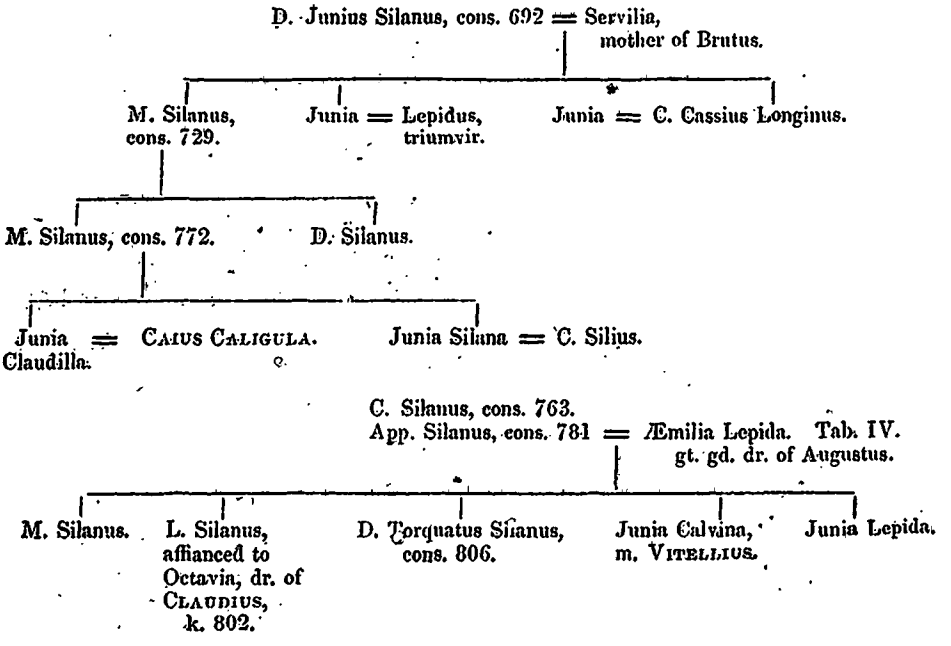

M. Æmilius Lepidus = Appuleia. cons. 676.
L. Æmilius Paulus, cons. 704.
M. Æmilius Lepidus, triumvir = Junia.
Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, k. by Pompeius, 677.
Paulus Æmilius Lepidus, cons. 720 = Cornelia.
M. Æmilius Lepidus, conspired against Augustus. k. 724.
L. Æmilius Paulus, cons. 754 = Julia, gr. dr. of Augustus.
M. Æmilius Lepidus, cons. 760.
Æmilia Lepida.
Æmilius Lepidus = Drusilla. k. 792. (Tab. IV.).
Æmilia Lepida = 1. Claudius. 2. App. Silanus. Tab. VIII.
Æmilia Lepida, m. Drusus, son of Germanicus, d. 789.
Of uncertain origin.
Q. Æmilius Lepidus, cons. 733.
Q. Æmilius Lepidus, cons. 764.

TABLE VIII.

(From Smith's Classical Biography.)


D. Junius Silanus, cons. 692 = Servilia, mother of Brutus.
M. Silanus, cons. 729.
Junia = Lepidus, triumvir.
Junia = C. Cassius Longinus.
M. Silanus, cons. 772.
D. Silanus.
Junia Claudilla. = Caius Caligula.
Junia Silana = C. Silius.
C. Silanus, cons. 763.
App. Silanus, cons. 781 = Æmilia Lepida. Tab. IV. gt. gd. dr. of Augustus.
M. Silanus.
L. Silanus, affianced to Octavia, dr. of Claudius, k. 802.
D. Torquatus Silanus, cons. 806.
Junia Calvina, m. Vitellius.
Junia Lepida.

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